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Marriage and mobility 1754-1810 : an examination of the Anglican marriage registers of selected Shropshire parishes

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MARRIAGE AND MOBILITY 1754-1810 : AN EXAMINATION OF THE ANGLICAN MARRIAGE REGISTERS OF SELECTED SHROPSHIRE PARISHES

Volume One. Text, tables, figures and appendices

A thesis submitted in candidature for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of London

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1980

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ABSTRACT

Little is known in detail of the chronology, magnitude and pattern of migration prior to 1800. This thesis examines Anglican Marriage Registers and the insight they can provide into past patterns of mobility in a county of early industrial development.

After a discussion of the broad demographic context and a review of previous studies using these data, three related themes are developed.

1. Consideration is given to the annual variation in the numbers of marriages solemnised and to the contribution made by extraparochial alliances to this overall pattern in places of different socio-economic structure and population size. This provides a temporal and structural setting within which to examine mobility.

2. The locational information recorded in the registers is used to calculate marriage distances and the dimensions and orientation of marriage horizons. The spatial patterns are subsequently integrated with the temporal analysis and with the variety of additional evidence available in the marriage registers to provide a fuller context for evaluating the pattern. This provides an essentially descriptive overview of marriage patterns, but does also yield some explanatory insights.

3. The problems of interpreting these data to give precise information on migration paths are discussed and a model proposed in the light of the empirical evidence. This reveals that the marriage data may be directly related to sex-specific patterns of pre-marital mobility by a simple manipulation of the marriage record.

Throughout the study evidence is drawn from two sample populations. The first covers five hundreds and boroughs in south Shropshire, while the second sample is drawn from all rural parishes in Shropshire. Taken together, these two data sets provide a picture of marriage and mobility from 1754-1810 which adds to existing understanding on this topic and points to factors which appear to control the pattern.

Acknowledgments

The extended gestation period and the continual risk of premature miscarriage which have accompanied this study, lengthen the list of those who deserve acknowledgment. Many people have contributed to the survival of the progeny, preventing along the way the threatened still-birth and encouraging its ultimate production.

The department of geography at Queen Mary College, University of London acted as the seed bed and incubator for the project, and my thanks go to those staff members and student colleagues who stimulated my interest in topics geographical. Prime among these was my eventual supervisor, Dr. J.A. Sheppard, who by her detailed accounts of rural settlement and society stimulated my interest in the population geography of past worlds. Her tolerance and encouragement at critical times during the project's development have made possible its survival and production. To her and to the Draper's Company, who provided my research grant at Queen Mary College, go my grateful thanks.

The continued growth and gradual development of this work have taken place in an equally stimulating setting. The department of geography at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth has provided a convivial and intellectually challenging environment in which to work, encouraging new developments and tolerating the slow maturation of old interests. My thanks go to Professors Kidson and Carter for the opportunities they have provided and the encouragement they have given.

Many colleagues and research students have contributed indirectly to the survival of this project by their interest in the topic, but particular thanks must go to Bob Dodgshon, David Heal, Roy Lewis and John Walton, who in various ways have encouraged its completion. A similar debt of gratitude must also be extended to three individuals outside Aberystwyth. To Philip Ogden for suggesting that I presented a paper to the Joint Historical Geography and Population Study Group Meeting at the Annual

Conference of the I.B.G. in Newcastle in 1976, to Paul Laxton for his interest in this topic and comments on that paper and finally to Dave Unwin for the advice and encouragement he has given. Each of these individuals has contributed directly and indirectly to my ideas on the topic and steeled my resolve to present the work.

The production of this thesis has been made much easier by the willing and skilful help provided by the cartographic unit of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth and by David Griffiths' expertise in reducing and reproducing their maps. My thanks also go to Misses Linda James and Gaynor Hamer, who in the busy summer of 1979 translated my much modified manuscript and numerous tables into presentable typescript.

Finally, no acknowledgment would be complete without specifying the debt of gratitude owed to my family. To my parents, who never saw the work completed, but who shaped my attitudes and encouraged my interests in academic topics and to my wife Kay and our children, for the help and encouragement they have given in the production of this study.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

"When historical demographers come across migration they treat it more as an obstacle in the path of their studies than an object of study in itself..."

Drake 1972 p 70

Such a statement may well have been true of much of the early work undertaken by historical demographers, but there has been a gradual recognition of the significance of migration in past periods and the need for a more comprehensive understanding of levels of mobility. Society, far from being 'closed' to outside influences, has been an everchanging entity: its membership varying constantly as individuals sought work, partners and opportunities outside their parish of birth (Stone 1966). The methodology adopted by early enquiries required the presumption of a relatively isolated system in which the vital events of birth, marriage and death could be interrelated to produce a picture of past population levels (Wrigley 1966, Henry 1968, Schofield 1971b, 1972). The significance of mobility was recognised, but could rarely be traced or accommodated: only now are the volume and direction of these associations being explored.

The delay in attacking this problem has been encouraged by the absence of reliable estimates of past population levels, which naturally became the main focus of enquiry, and also by the absence of readily available data documenting the likely pattern of movement. As knowledge on the former front advances, so more time is available to explore the latter issue. Much still needs to be known of the chronology, magnitude and pattern of migration which was characteristic in pre-industrial England and the part it played in shaping regional variations in population growth. This theme is explored for the county of Shropshire, a centre of early industrial development, during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Various data sets have been suggested as providing potentially profitable insights into migration paths. These include Freeman's Rolls, Apprentice Indentures, Settlement Papers, Wills and Depositions before Ecclesiastical courts and parish Marriage Registrations. All of which, by providing locational information on the parties listed, give measures of actual or potential mobility (Hollingsworth 1971, Patten 1973, Spufford 1973, Laxton 1977a). However each of these sources presents problems to the user. The evidence is often physically fragmented, rarely comprehensive in areal coverage, usually either age-specific or socially selective and occasionally unreliable.

Of these sources, the most widely used have been the Anglican Marriage Registrations. Historical demographers, sociologists, geneticists and geographers have used the information on 'parish of origin' of the parties to matrimony to monitor marriage horizons, 'propinquity in mate selection', gene pools and community mean information fields (Ogden 1973a). These studies have either been taken as discrete enquiries or, on occasions, findings from them have been used as surrogate measures of information flow to be incorporated in studies of the innovation-diffusion process (Hagerstrand 1957, 1967). Rarely have the records been used as explicit evidence of migration fields. This arises because of the strong social conventions surrounding matrimony and the inferential difficulties associated with the record.

Nonetheless, from the point of view of the historical geographer, the interpretation of this material to provide a direct insight into actual or potential linkages between places in the past could be of immense value. The failure to establish the relationship between the marriage record and actual migration paths may well have arisen because few researchers have felt that it justified detailed attention in its own right. This limited attention and an unwillingness to embed the marital data in an existential reality has contributed to the uncertainty

which surrounds Anglican Marriage Registrations. It was with the intention of exploring the data set further that the focus of this enquiry was determined. It has the prime aim of establishing a more direct relationship between marriage and mobility and seeks to do this by interpreting the record in a fuller structural, spatial and social setting than hitherto attempted.

As an introduction to the central theme of the thesis this chapter specifies some of the key issues which form a framework for the subsequent presentation. It considers three themes:

I : Population and migration in the eighteenth century.

II : Population, marriage and economy.

III : Marriage and mobility.

I : The central problem : population and migration in the eighteenth century

> "The role of migration in the early stages of the industrial revolution is still not clearly understood ..... we really know very little about migration before 1850, at least in England, although industrialisation and urban growth were already well underway by 1750"
>
> Hollingsworth 1971 p 90

Ignorance on this topic is by no means absolute. Much had already been learnt about the character of migration in pre-industrial society, but more needs to be established for a comprehensive understanding of the chronology, magnitude and pattern of movement to be achieved. Lawton (1978), following Zelinsky (1971), has emphasised the importance of the 'mobility transition', which accompanies the process of modernisation or development. As societies move from a pre-industrial to an industrial economy, flows of people, goods and ideas increase, relocations occur and a re-evaluation of opportunities inevitably produces a re-distribution

of population. Such a transition takes place gradually, at varying rates in different settings, but little is known of the origins of these changes even though the nineteenth century end-product is well documented. Hence the need for more detailed information about patterns of movement in the preceding century, when both population and economy were experiencing the first dramatic adjustments which led ultimately to the transformation of the wider society (Laxton 1977b). This theme is central to the subsequent enquiry.

The rapid growth of population which took place in Britain during the eighteenth century is a well documented phenomenon (Flinn 1970). In summary, this period was characterised by slow population growth rates of less than 0.25 per cent per annum up to 1740 after which a remarkable increase of population occurred. From 1740-80 population increased between 0.6 - 0.8 per cent per annum leading, in the 1780s through to the 1820s to further increases at the rate of 1.45 per cent per annum. Faced with limited national data in the Parish Register Abstracts (PRAs) and a growing volume of local evidence derived from Anglican parish registers, historians and demographers have presented various competing and complementary theories to account for both the timing and the mechanisms of change. This stimulating debate has drawn attention to the roles of economic, social and medical factors on the one hand and demographic factors on the other, in creating and sustaining demographic growth. No single factor can account for the total level of change, and the intimate inter-dependence of these forces implies a multicausal explanation.

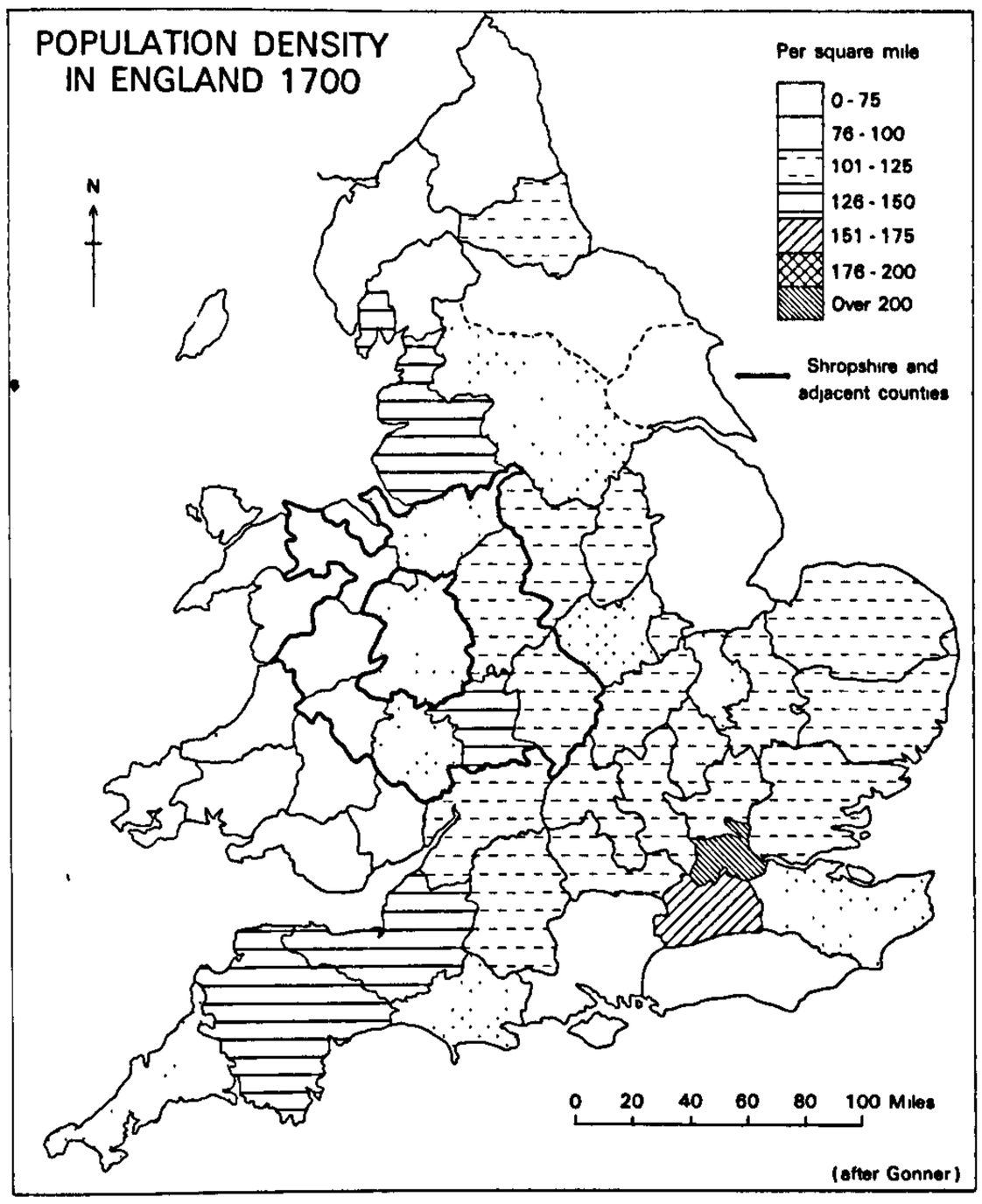
Central to such enquiry is the institution of marriage, and the role it played through variations in the age at marriage and in the numbers of marriages/swelling birth rates and population growth (Habakkuk1971, Wrigley 1966a). As a critical demographic element, highly responsive to the economic climate (Chambers 1972), it must be seen as of vital

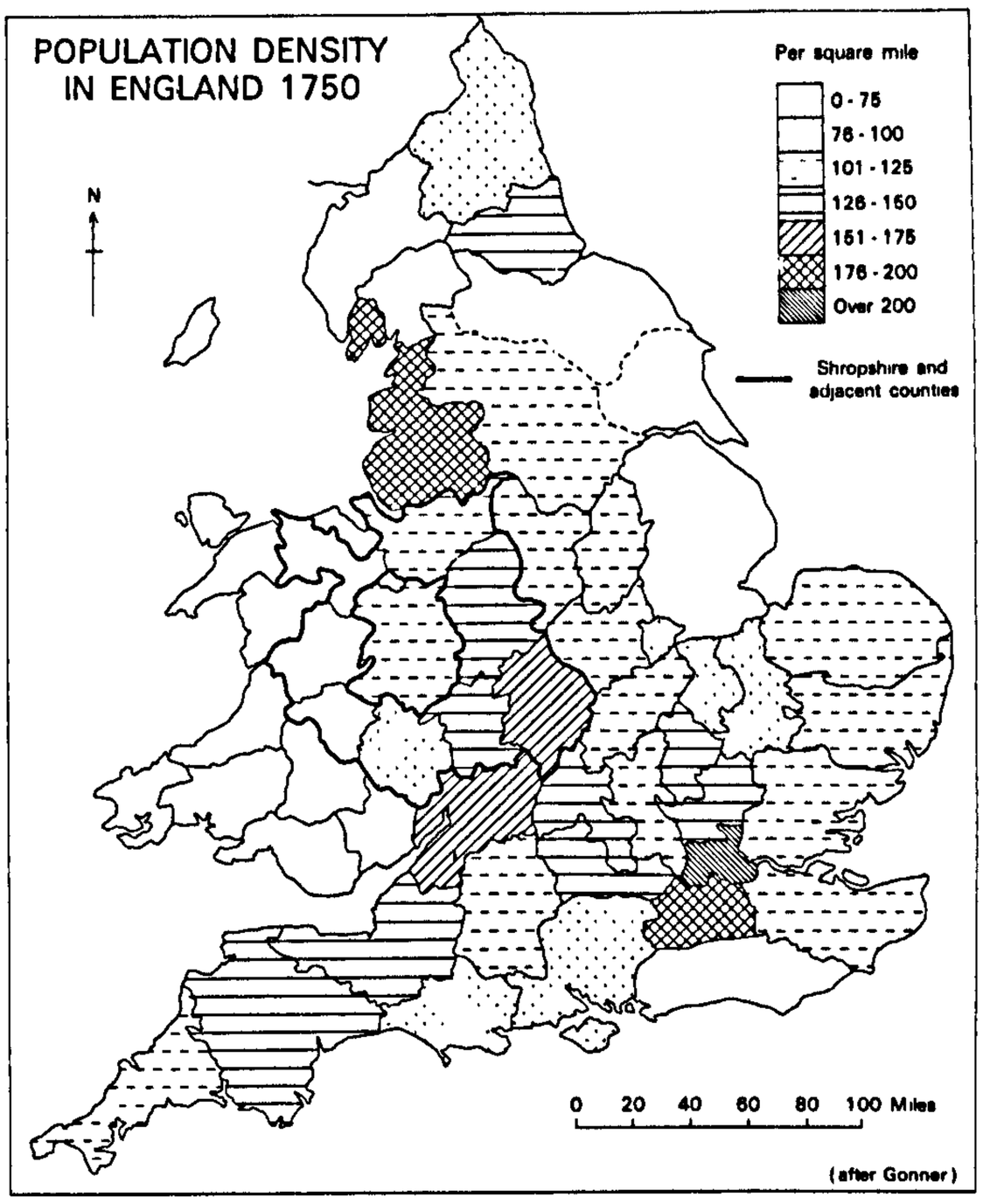
importance to the general level of change, though obviously not the only factor of significance.

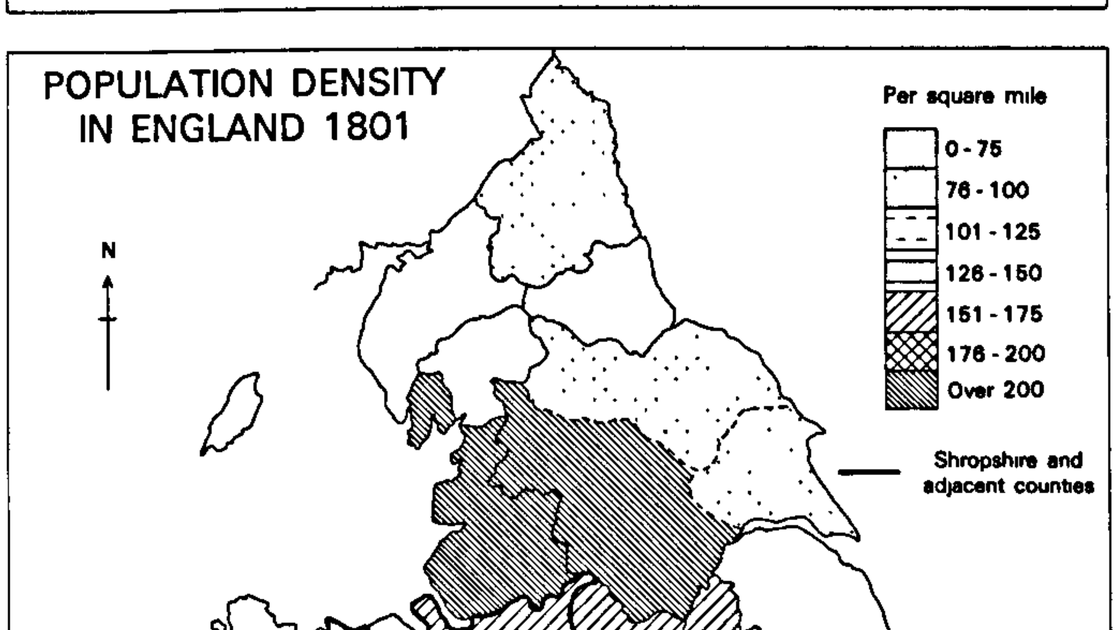
Unlike the other vital events of birth (baptism) and death (burial) it frequently involves some element of contact with other places. Not all brides and grooms find their partners locally, within the parish, and therefore, for the geographer, it is of intrinsic interest through its incorporation of a spatial component. The possibility that marriage records may provide some insight into the levels of mobility, if not of migration, which accompanied the population explosion of the eighteenth century has yet to be fully examined. Indeed remarkably little attention has been given to the role of migration in this period of change. Against a background of regional variations in population distribution and growth it is useful to consider what is already established about past levels of migration.

The analysis of demographic change at a regional level has been attempted in a number of studies. These draw on national data collected by John Rickman in the PRAs (1801-1841). The comprehensiveness and accuracy of these statistics have been the source of much debate, and the doubt cast on their reliability has led Darby (1973 p 307) to conclude that any interpretation based on them 'can only be unsatisfactory.' Nonetheless most enquiries use this source and while the details of the pattern may be questioned it is generally accepted that the overall picture they describe is fairly representative (Lawton 1978 p 322). Two studies can usefully be drawn upon to place the study county of Shropshire in a wider perspective, and to give an indication of the importance of migration in the evolution of the pattern.

A pioneer study by Gonner (1913) provides an indication of the gradual change in population densities which took place during the century (Figure 1.1). It illustrates the initial slow growth, later acceleration and consolidation of the pattern of regional differentiation.







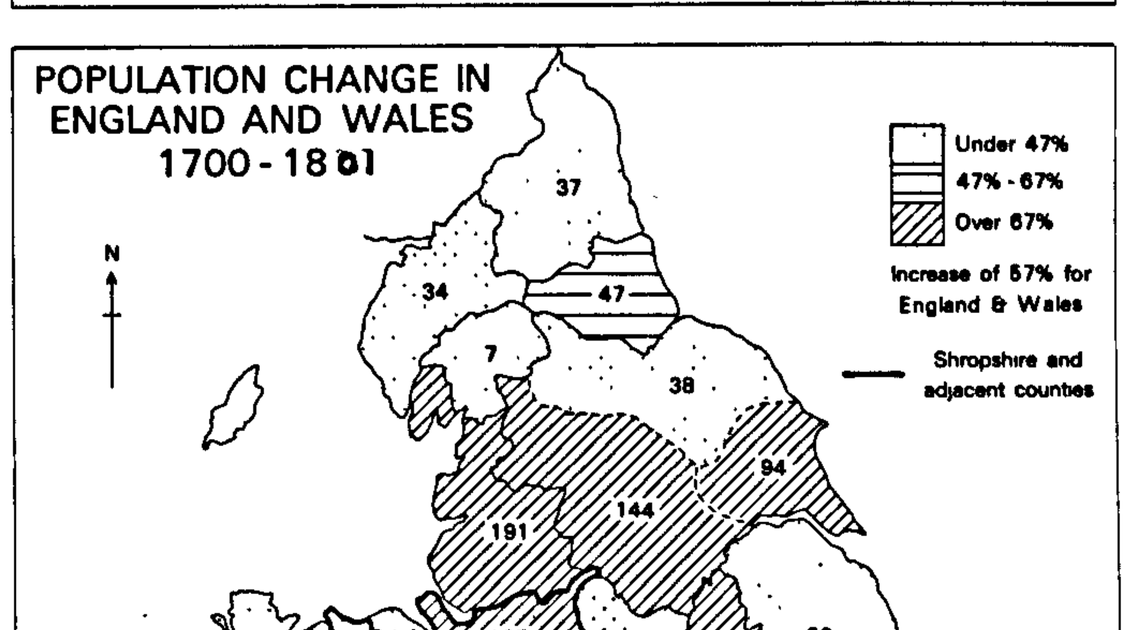
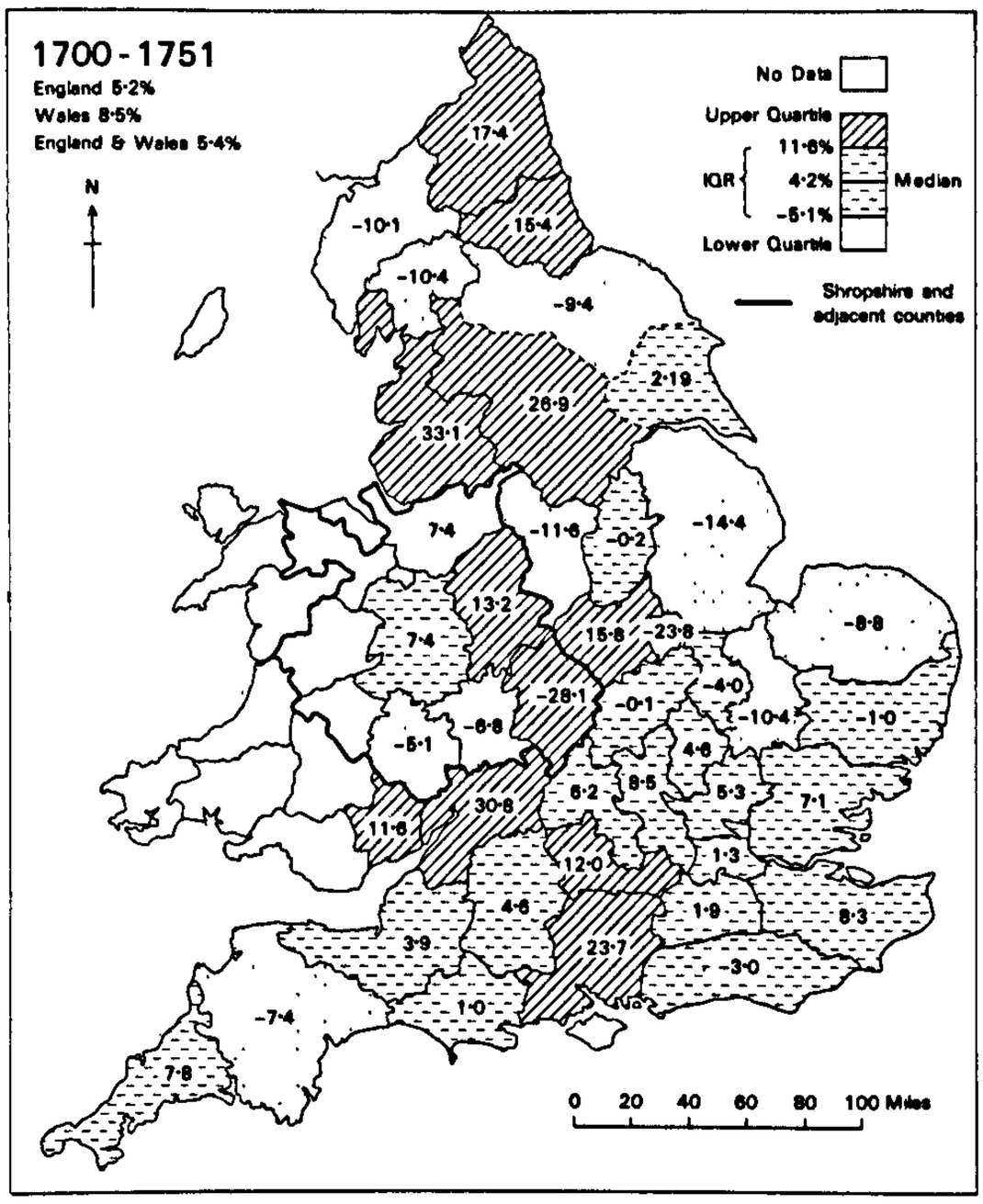


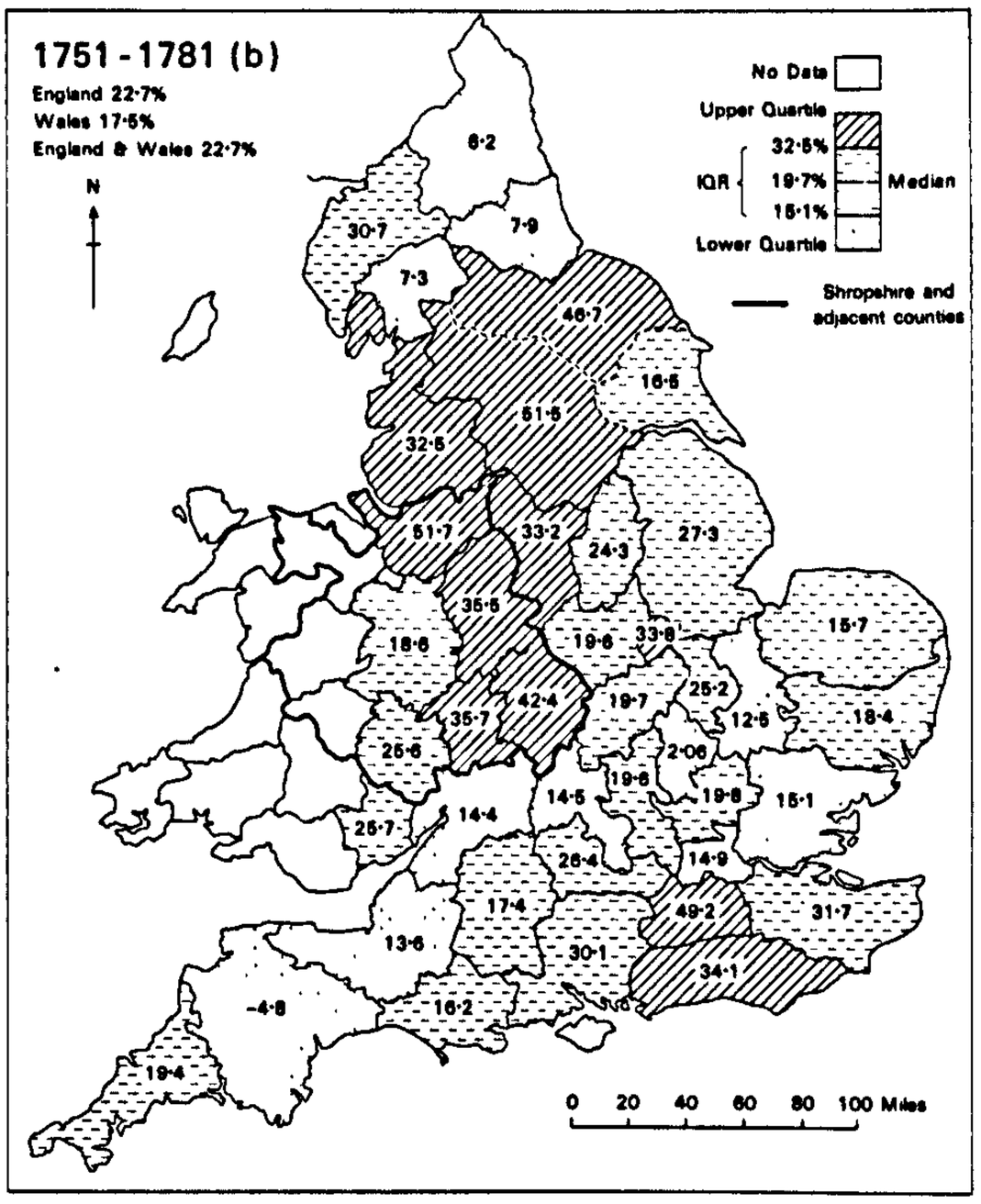
Figure 1.1 Population density in England (after Gonner) and population change in England and Wales (after Darby) 1700-1801.

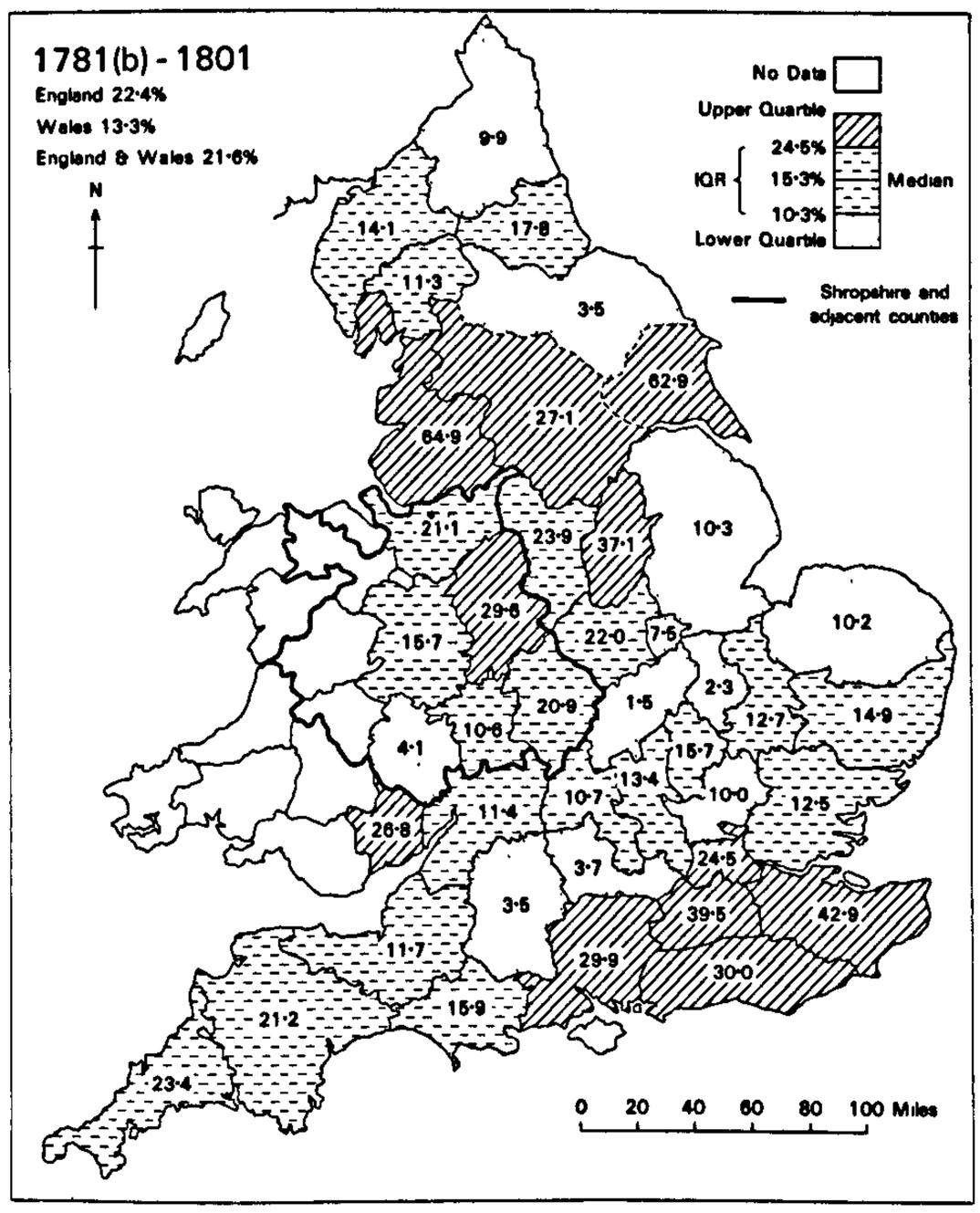
The emergence of certain counties to demographic pre-eminence in the north, midland and southern areas of England and Wales is quite clear. Gonner emphasised the dominance of London; the emergence of what he termed the centres of mechanical industry (Lancashire, Cheshire and the West Riding) and of the newer metal industries (Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire); the slower, but substantial increase in agricultural counties (Herefordshire) and in those of mixed-economy (Shropshire). Contemporary opinion reinforces his ideas in broad outline, providing speculative interpretations of how this growth was achieved (Habakkuk 1953, 1971).

This pattern of development is confirmed by the inclusion of Darby's (1973) summary of population change during the period and echoed in the work by Deane and Cole (1969) (Figure 1.2). Their estimates, again based on Rickman's calculations in the PRAs, adjusted to match Brownlee's national totals, have been subject to much criticism (Flinn 1970 p 28-29, Neal 1971, Cole 1971), but they do provide a general picture of the relative levels of increase at a national scale. At this time, Shropshire stands out as one of a series of counties experiencing a gradual increase in population density and an overall rate of demographic growth intermediate between that of the fastest and slowest growing counties. Its pattern of development is considerably slower than areas to the east and north (Cheshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire) where percentage increases and densities were among the highest in the country. While the counties to the west and south lag behind Shropshire in their rate of demographic change. It is therefore evidently intermediate in character at both a regional and national scale.

How these patterns of growth were achieved has yet to be adequately resolved. Deane and Cole attempted to explain the national trends by calculating the contribution from natural increase and comparing it with the estimated level of total increase, suggesting that any excess or







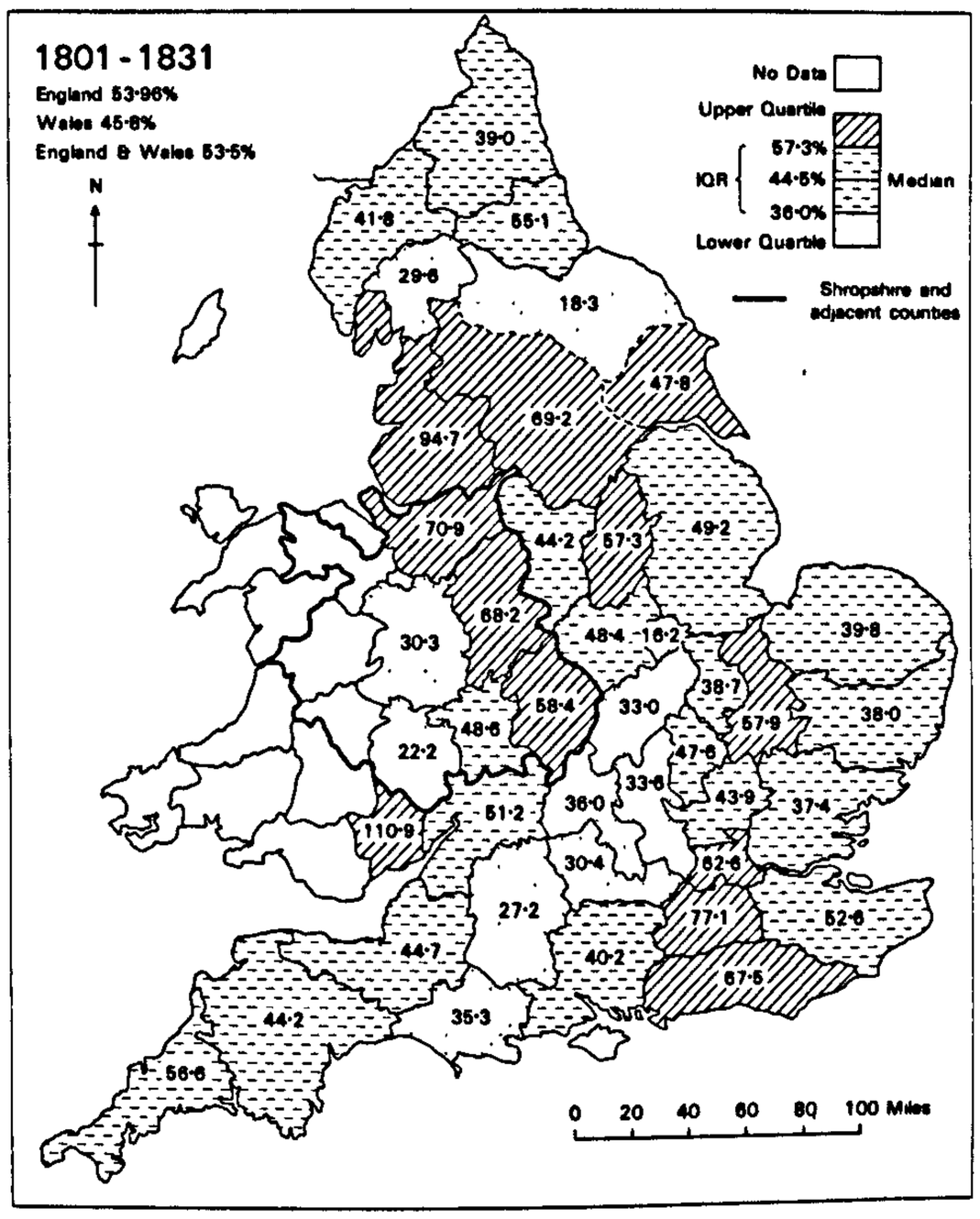


Figure 1.2 Population change 1700-1831 based on Deane and Cole (1969, Table 26 p 115).

shortfall between the two calculations represented a migrational component. These estimates and the circularity implicit in their calculation have been the areas of their study which have received most criticism, but their findings are of general interest. They suggest marked variations in the annual average rate of natural increase across the country (Figure 1.3) with the north and north-west experiencing more substantial increases than the southern part of the country. This leads them to conclude that the northern counties did not initially grow by migration from the agricultural south and east, but rather by sustained levels of natural increase. They argue that the migration which did occur in the first half of the century was to Gloucestershire, the central and southern districts (Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Hampshire) and the south-east, reflecting a movement to the most favoured areas, none of which were industrial. It was not until the latter half of the eighteenth and the early decades of the nineteenth century that many of the industrial counties started to gain by in-migration. Deane and Cole therefore argue for a two stage pattern of population increase. Initially high levels of natural increase give impetus to growth in addition to some intra-county and adjacent county movement, which they attribute to regional industrial development. In the second phase, after 1781, natural increase played a lesser part and growth was encouraged by inter-county and inter-regional movements. They do however note that movement between 1701-51, when the population was almost station-ary, was not much lower than the movement in subsequent periods when industrialisation was proceeding rapidly and population expanding.

Thus they assert that industrialisation was not continuously stimulated by inter-regional flow, though they do acknowledge that short distance migration may have been of some significance to the rate of growth within particular counties. Natural increase is seen as the key factor. This may have been encouraged in the towns by a favourable age-

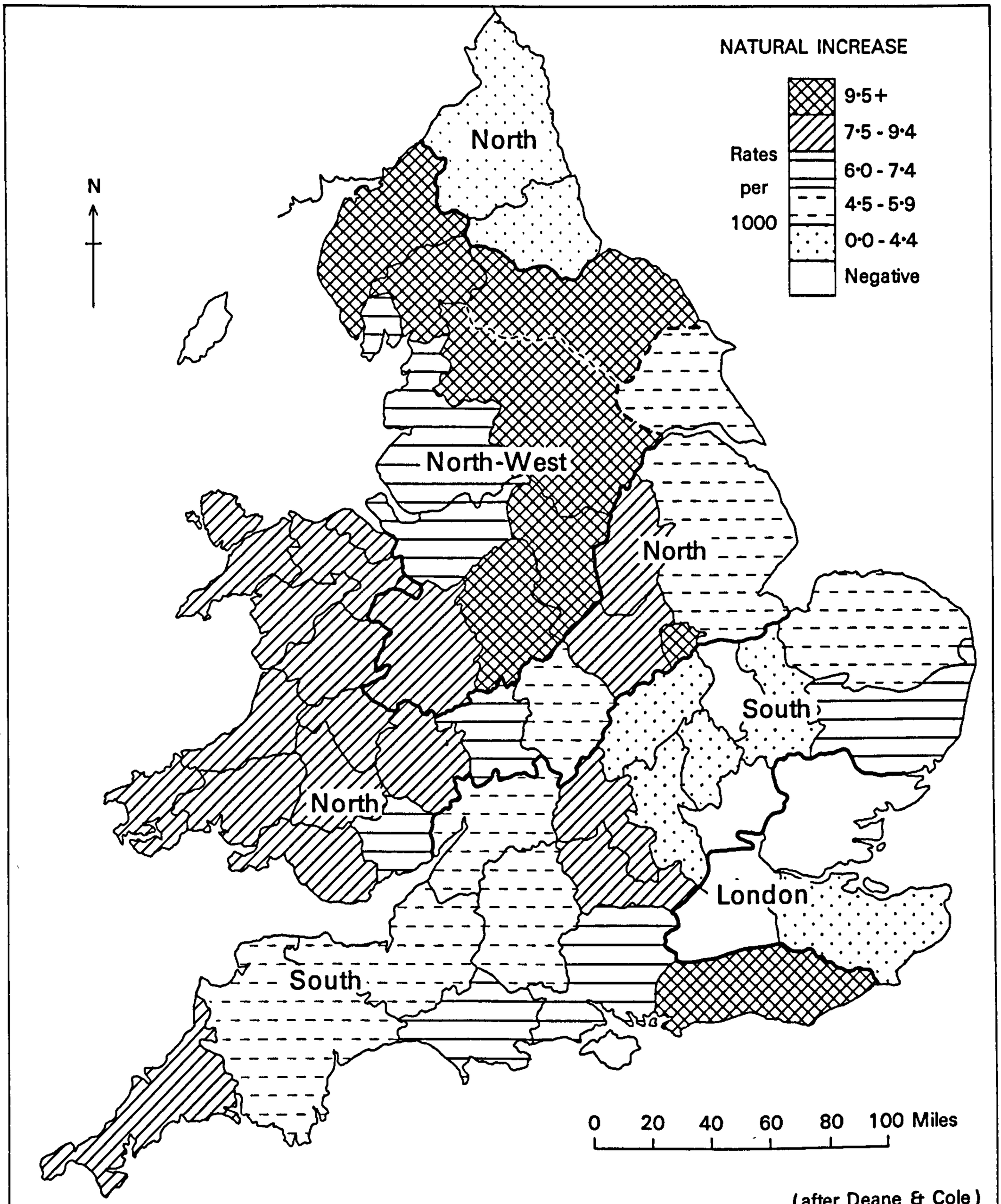


Figure 1.3 Levels of natural increase in the eighteenth century (after Deane and Cole).

structure, (though Deane and Cole can find no direct evidence to support such a view) and in the countryside by high birth rates and lower mortality rates. Why higher levels of natural increase prevailed in the industrial counties is not satisfactorily established, but is the fundamental issue in Deane and Cole's analysis.

Given the contrast noted above between towns and the countryside they argue that the higher levels of natural increase in areas immediately adjacent to urban centres, coupled with short distance movements to the centres of opportunity, fuelled the urban rates of growth. Thus the age structures of towns became predominantly youthful. Vigour, regular employment and the release from traditional social controls, hastened early independence and earlier marriage, which in turn increased birth rates. Such flows no doubt played a critical part in the high levels of natural increase they record.

In counties where this may have occurred, the aggregation of data unfortunately makes it appear that natural increase alone accounted for the accelerated population growth and the intra-county movement of population goes unrecorded. This would apply in Lancashire prior to 1781 and in Staffordshire and the West Riding. Only when these flows from countryside to town are exhausted does inter-county movement become necessary, and hence migratory gain emerges from their analysis. This situation, they argue, occurred in Warwickshire, where the bulk of the population (40 per cent) resided in the single major centre of Birmingham and in the later development of Lancashire, where 40 per cent of the population was eventually located in the new industrial towns. In contrast, Staffordshire, due to the size of the county and the poly-nucleated character of its urban structure, relied on local in-migrants for far longer and also had a surplus population potentially able to move elsewhere. These speculations, while appealing, have yet to be substantiated by local evidence and must be treated warily, given the criticisms advanced against the

method upon which they are based. Nonetheless they do point to the possibility of a significant and critical level of local mobility in this period of rapid population growth, worthy of further investigation.

This general scenario finds some support in Lawton's recent overview of the period. He emphasises the growing volume of evidence of relatively high turnover in parish populations. A fluidity encouraged by 'the seasonal migration of labour, local movement ... from closed to open parishes (Mills 1959, 1965, Holderness 1972), annual hirings of farm servants and (the movement of) migrant (including itinerant) craftsmen.' (1978, p.323). This is confirmed by the lack of continuity apparent in parish listings of individual families (Tranter 1967) and the problems of mobility revealed by the growing volume of reconstitution exercises being undertaken by CAMPOP and others (Oosterveen, 1974, Levine, 1976).

Studies based on Apprenticeship registers and poor law records reveal comparable trends (Buckatzsch 1950, 1951, Randall 1971, Patten 1976) suggesting the urban orientation of many of these flows, the majority over short distances, but others coming from further afield. A number of studies have also used Anglican marriage allegations and bonds and parish registers to point to the overall scale of these patterns of circulation (Peel 1942, Constant 1948 , Maltby 1969, 1971, Elliott 1973) but little attempt has been made to interpret this evidence in the light of Deane and Cole's propositions. Indeed one of the most influential studies by a geographer in this field (Perry 1969a), dealing with a later period, emphasises the relatively late breakdown of isolation in countryside parishes for the majority of the working class population.

Two themes emerge from these local studies. Firstly the high level of local mobility: a family moving to and from a series of nearby parishes during its collective lifetime, shifts responding to the search for employment, accommodation and opportunity. Secondly, longer distance flows, again driven by the same needs but over a much wider area and often on an

inter-county scale. These flows according to Randall (1972) reflect the status of places within the urban hierarchy and also illustrate tendencies of differential association. Thus flows occur between areas because of the complementarity of opportunities. This dual theme recurs in most reviews of the question of migration during the period and is heavily emphasised in Patten's (1973) overview of rural-urban migration in the pre-industrial period. He, however, points to the need for further work on this theme if more is to be learnt of the pattern of movement and its stability through time particularly in northern and western regions (p.43).

These enquiries suggest that mobility plays a critical role in demographic change at both a local and a regional level. Where it involves the young it contributes directly to the level of natural increase which prevails and also reflects the distribution of economic opportunity. From both a demographic and a geographical point of view it is central to understanding the spatial patterns of change which occurred during the eighteenth century, and as such, demands more focussed attention. The record of marriage documented in the Anglican parish registers provides a data set well suited to furthering the understanding of this issue. Before examining themes central to this enquiry, the character of marriage and its role in the population history of the later eighteenth century is briefly examined.

II : Population, marriage and economy

> "In western societies, marriage was the passport to the establishment of an independent family unit, and the family, in its economic aspect, was a microcosm of the society of which it was part...."
>
> Chambers 1972 p 33

Chambers stresses the crucial role of marriage in English population change. The family unit so formed, sanctified by ecclesiastical and secular custom, while having early origins, emerges as a distinctive feature of European demography during the seventeenth century (Hajnal 1965). Its uniqueness, it has been suggested, was characterised by late age at marriage and a high proportion never marrying at all. The development of the nuclear family has also been associated with the rise of the Puritan work ethic and the increasing desire for individualism. This view is supported by Laslett's (1969 and 1972) findings, which confirm that few extended families existed from 1600, but probably the family unit so described emerged over a much longer period. From this period onwards the nuclear family, encapsulating the needs and mores of a changing society, becomes an institutionalised and stable unit, acting as a regulating device for society, modifying and reflecting the course of economic change. In such circumstances, the unions created by marriage, the age at which such alliances were contracted and fecundity within marriage play a vital role in determining the overall level of population development. (Habakkuk 1971)

The institution of marriage has received considerable attention from historical demographers. Three themes emerge in their enquiry. Firstly, the nature of the family in past time where a variety of sources are drawn upon to establish the characteristics of this basic unit in a sociological manner (Laslett 1965, 1969, 1972, Shorter 1975, Levine 1977, Stone 1977). Secondly, research has examined variations in the age at

marriage, rate of marriage and fecundity in marriage to establish its role in generating and sustaining population growth. Thirdly, and related to the second demographic focus, discussion has centred on the relationship between marriage and economy, for, as Eversley (1965, p 39) has noted, 'of the three short term regulators of population, marriage is the most sensitive to economic change'. Each of these research areas is important in any overall appreciation of the marriage record and it is worth elaborating on them briefly for this reason alone. None of them, however, are critical to an appreciation of the geographical mobility associated with marriage and only occasionally can discussion of this theme be tied to these debates.

Stone's (1977) major overview and Laslett's (1972, 1977) more focussed enquiries into the family, household size and illicit love in the eighteenth century and earlier periods provide important contextual comment on the institution of marriage. These studies point to the major changes which have occurred in what might be considered acceptable behaviour in marriage. They emphasise how social attitudes to the family and extra-marital and pre-marital relations have shifted with the passage of time and how they vary considerably between social groups. Much of the evidence presented by Stone is derived from a multitude of sources and the synthesis of these, coupled with the emphasis on biographical evidence where it is available, provides a pointedly human perspective on the issue.

In contrast, Laslett (1972, 1977) places more emphasis on the weight of evidence generated by the Cambridge Group and the insights that parochial reconstitution provides into the issue of numbering the people in the past. Pioneer work by Hair (1966, 1970) and others, including Laslett (1973, 1977), has revealed the detailed material that is available from parish registers of pre-marital associations and the level of illegitimacy in the past. These enquiries make it clear that the social mores

associated with marriage, indeed the nature of marriage solemnisation procedures themselves and the duration of such alliances, have varied considerably (Stone 1977 p 30). They also indicate that of all children recorded in parish registers, the majority, but not all, were born in wedlock. This is a point which should not be overlooked in any discussion associating the marriage record with population growth. This first group of studies forms a valuable historical and phenomenological context in which to embed the more specific demographic and economic debates.

Discussion of the relationship between marriage and demographic growth has focussed particularly on the effect of variations in the age of marriage and the repercussions such changes had upon the birth rate (Wrigley 1966a). Smith (1978 p 216-8) has recently presented material on this theme for the period prior to 1730 and a review of the trends in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is documented by Outhwaite (1973). These studies suggest that the age of first marriage in the first half of the eighteenth century was 28 years for men and 27 years for women, that this level prevailed until the 1780s, decreasing only slightly, and then fell more rapidly, dropping to between 21-22 years by 1837. Fluctuations in the age of women at first marriage have been viewed as a social adaptation to ensure lower birth rates by reducing the period at risk, though this argument now finds some critics (Stone 1977 p 693). Whether this was the case or not, the overall impact of the lowering of the age at marriage, when set against better nutritional standards (Razzell 1965) and improved chances of infant survival, would certainly swell rates of natural increase. Habakkuk (1971 p 37-38) has shown that a two year decrease in the age of women at first marriage would, by increasing the fertile period, produce a 0.5 per cent per annum increase in population, which would do much to account for the rate of growth achieved by the end of the eighteenth century.

Changes in the age of first marriage were not uniformly distributed. Variations are said to exist between different occupational and social groups in both this aspect of marriage and in the likelihood of marriage itself, though the evidence is fairly scanty (Hollingsworth 1971, Outhwaite 1973, Stone 1977, Martin 1977). The suggestion has been made that these social differences may well also show regional variations, associated with the dominant economy, with lower ages of marriage prevailing in industrial settings. This would imply a link between the demographic response and economic forces. The overall conclusion from this work must be that these variations played a critical role in accelerating the rate of population growth during the period.

It is worth considering these changes in the age of marriage, alongside the actual numbers and rates of marriage recorded for the later eighteenth century. Griffith (1926 pp 103-71) documented the course of change in marriage using the PRA data from 1754-1840, smoothed by eleven year averages, and, using his own population estimates, established crude rates of marriage. The analysis he produced was subsequently criticised by Marshall (1929 p 259) for its use of crude, rather than age-specific rates. From both these national studies the general pattern in the growth of numbers marrying is reasonably clear. Figure 1.4 illustrates the aggregate form of this relationship during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Griffith also argued that the marriage rate rose until 1790 and fell thereafter until 1840, only to re-establish itself subsequently on to an upward trend. Within this general pattern he noted certain cyclic fluctuations at eight or nine year intervals in numbers of marriages. These upsurges in the annual numbers of marriages are clearly evident in the diagram, and Griffith argued that they could be accounted for by the close association which existed between marriage and the overall state of the economy. This explanation will be returned to later. A

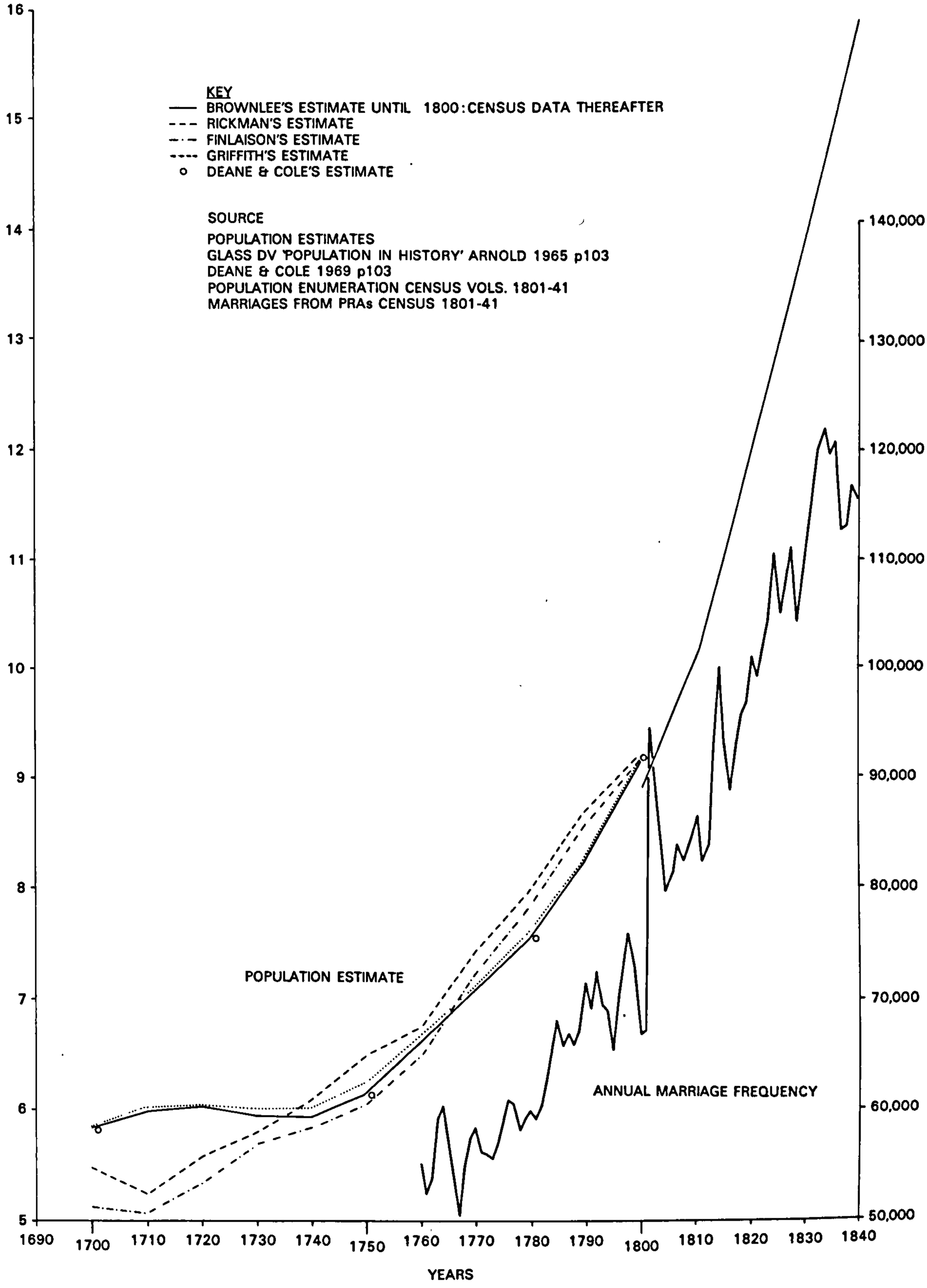


Figure 1.4 Population estimates and annual number of marriages during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

comparable pattern of increasing numbers of annual marriages is evident in those few other studies which refer to this theme.

Krause (1963, 1967) noted certain similarities with this national pattern in his analyses of a sample of registers drawn from northern and southern parts of Britain. He had suggested that marriage frequencies might imply differential fertility and hence rates of population growth in his 1963 assessment of population change. In a later (1967) study he examined 200 Mss and transcribed parish registers to monitor differences in the frequencies of vital events in different settings. The records revealed an overall rising trend in numbers marrying, with major peaks in the 1730s, 1760s and late 1770s separated by intervening troughs. They also suggested variations in the rate of increase in this trend and in the timing of individual peaks between north and south, with the northern parishes peaking earlier and increasing more rapidly. The implication is that industrialisation stimulated the growth in numbers. No attempt, however, is made in his study to compute rates of marriage, though he is sceptical of the notion of uniform rates prevailing at regional and sub-regional scales which remained constant. At a sub-regional or parish scale, little attention has been given to marriage trends, but those records which do exist indicate contrasting rates of increase in numbers of events per year in different settings (Chambers 1957, Eversley 1957 , Sogner 1963). These suggest that the fastest increase in numbers marrying occurred in urban and industrial settings, which might have been facilitated by younger ages of first marriage. Annual totals are however less informative than rates in assessing this issue.

The key point here, in terms of its impact on the growth of population, is whether the marriage rate remained constant. If this were so, when set against a rising population trend more unions would be solemnised, and if it rose, fewer individuals would remain celibate. However, it should be noted that a fall in the rate could still produce rising annual numbers

of marriages when population was increasing so dramatically. Computation of such rates is surrounded by difficulty in the absence of reliable population totals and with suspect marriage data (PRAs). The available evidence suggests that during the eighteenth century rates between 8 and 9 per 1000 were characteristic nationally (Rickman 1801-31 , Griffith 1926 , Marshall 1929 , Razzell 1965), but rates well above this were calculated with local data by Chambers (1960) for Nottingham and by Eversley (1957) in Worcestershire. The early nineteenth century shows a slight fall, and the contemporary county information available in the PRAs on both marriage and population suggests considerable regional variation between counties (Griffith 1926 p 168). At an intra-county level equal variation is apparent (Jones 1973). The constancy of the national marriage rate, set against a rising population, would produce a rising birth rate and greatly accelerate overall growth (Eversley 1965 pp 39-52); at the local level more variation in rate was apparent, producing variations in the number of marriages which were being solemnised annually. These patterns may well have been related specifically to the character of the local economy as well as to the peculiar demographic history of particular areas.

Identification of the forces producing these changes in age at first marriage, in marriage rates, in the rising annual numbers of marriages and in the regional variations which did occur, leads the discussion to the role of economy in promoting marriage and subsequent population growth. This is not to suggest that economy was the only factor, for demographic fluctuations in birth and death rates also played a significant part in producing much of the regularity and rhythm in the marriage record (Habakkuk 1971 pp 26-27), but it is of critical importance.

In pre-industrial society, where emphasis was placed on the family as a mature self-sufficient entity, often of limited duration, and frequently re-created for a second or third time because of its fundamental importance (Stone 1977, p 25), it is not surprising that its rate of forma-

tion responded closely to the economic and social climate. If harvests were poor, grain expensive and wages low, no one wished to risk children by early marriage, or if married, to have more children than the purse could feed. Consequently more remained celibate, numbers of marriages fell, age at marriage stayed high, reducing potential fertility, restraint in marriage was adhered to and population growth in excess of provisions was controlled. With economic improvement, marriages once deferred were solemnised, new alliances contracted, birth rates increased and population grew. Such a practice produced an initial surge in the marriage record followed by decline when times improved. Thus a seemingly contradictory situation arises when marriage totals appear to increase with economic opportunity and then decrease with increasing prosperity (Eversley 1965 p 43). This simplistic relationship conceals a complex system which has been the subject of much discussion.

The way marriage is viewed as responsive to economic forces has already been emphasised. A number of separate themes which have attempted to stress this association emerge from the literature. Prime among these are those studies which emphasise the relationship between wage levels and numbers marrying and Habakkuk (1971 p 40) quotes Malthus on this theme, who argued that 'wages are such as to either check or encourage early marriage'. Two threads run through this debate, firstly one associated with the growing level of industrialisation and secondly one which emphasises the role of the Allowance system operated under the Poor Law.

The first theme argues that industrialisation, by stimulating demand for labour and offering high wages, attracted a young and potentially marriageable workforce, gave them independence and thus encouraged earlier marriage. This is supported by Deane and Cole's contention that the population of the industrialising areas was younger, as a product of selective immigration, and more likely to marry early and fuel rates of natural increase. The break up of apprenticeships and craft guilds with the changing

methods of production has also been seen to be an encouragement in this process and certainly did increase freedom (Eversley 1965 p 45, Stone 1977 p 604). This, in theory, would lead to both higher numbers and rates of marriage in urban and industrial settings. To a limited extent the evidence suggests this is true, but there is no guarantee that marriage records in such areas will show excessive levels of increase.

If labour demands are satisfied by migration from the immediate locality of both men and women then, as this is short distance movement, brides, unless they adopt settlement in their place of employment, will return home to marry, thus swelling the figures of their home parishes rather than those in which they are employed. At a county scale, or even at that of administrative areas this may be irrelevant, but at the level of the individual parish it might mean that very little contrast would be shown in the marriage records of places with markedly different economies. Regional contrasts would thus be difficult to substantiate. This does not however mean that the notion is incorrect. Accommodation must have been more readily available in the towns, squalid though no doubt it was, a fact readily reflected in the higher mortality levels of such environments, and this must also have encouraged earlier marriage.

The second theme associating marriage frequency with levels of Poor Relief has found less support. Griffith (1926 p 168-9) argued that allowances, paid in lieu of wages, after Speenhamland, encouraged what might have been deferred unions, by paying at higher rates to married as opposed to single persons. This increased the level of marriage and gave a misleading boost to the agrarian economy. He found a 'close correlation' between Allowance expenditure and those counties with higher rates of marriage, but he could not find a direct association between this and subsequent population growth. Huzel (1969), working in Kent, could find little evidence that the poor law system in any way encouraged population

growth except that it may have reduced infant mortality. Baugh (1975) examined a comparable theme for south eastern England and devalued further the impact of the Speenhamland system, as has Martin (1977) in certain Felden parishes. These studies suggest that the system of relief played little part in either encouraging marriage or promoting population growth in these areas.

This is not to suggest that the countryside was a more difficult environment in which to marry early, for Habakkuk (1971 p 40) argued that by the later decades of the eighteenth century the young did find it easier to establish themselves. The changes occurring in agriculture had produced comparable changes in rights of property and the growth of tenant farming, and cottage clusters made family formation easier for some. The implied decline in the boarding-in of labour was not universal however, indeed the economic climate often determined whether it happened or not. Chambers (1972 p 46) argued that when prices were low, boarding-in was encouraged by farmers and when prices were high, it was less frequent. If this pattern was widely adhered to no close correlation might be expected between marriage and economy. However, out-migration to the towns and industrial areas, together with a limited amount of additional cottage provision, may well have encouraged some movement towards earlier marriage. The evidence here is more equivocal but, given the overlap specified earlier in discussing marriage solemnisation, increasing numbers of marriages may have occurred during the later eighteenth century, though in many ways they seem less likely in a rural setting to have been locally generated.

The evidence in the main favours the theory that industrialisation, with its various associated effects, played a considerable part in shaping the trends which have been identified in the marriage series. The changes that were brought about as a result of these shifts in economy have led Habakkuk (1971 p 45) to suggest 'that people were marrying earlier, not

because they were exercising less prudence, but because conditions had so changed that the exercise of the same degree of prudence dictated earlier marriage'. A similar point emerges from Chambers' (1972) conclusions where he suggests that demographic forces, particularly those relating to marriage and the family, set controls for expansion concurrently with an era of innovation and progressive industrial advance which by their coincidence produced rapid population growth. Thus the changes are a product of coincidental multi-causation rather than any single factor.

The fluctuations, occurring around the general trend in the marriage record, can also be seen as partly related to economic factors. Griffith (1926) in particular was at pains to emphasise that economic and social events experienced by the nation as a whole were recorded in the marriage record. He suggested that military events contributed to these fluctuations, noting the association between the Peace of Paris and the marriage peaks in 1763-64, the drop in numbers marrying in the 1780s as the American War hostilities commenced and the subsequent increase with the peace in 1783. Krause (1963) attributed rising marriages in the years 1801-3 to the Peace of Amiens and to a general fall in the price of wheat, and other peaks occur in 1814-15 at the end of the French Wars. The series of bad harvests in the 1790s led to lower marriage levels as prices rose increasing uncertainty. Epidemics also played a part, no doubt increasing the numbers of second and third marriages in a society where a partner was essential as an economic helpmate in small scale enterprises. (Eversley 1965, Stone 1977).

The record of marriage, recording the pattern of family formation during these years of rapid expansion, monitors not only the demography of the local community, but also the broader state of well-being in the wider society. The role of migration in the rapid increase in numbers marrying is relatively minor. Ashton (cited in Chambers) did suggest that restricted mobility played a part in keeping the age of marriage and the

numbers of unmarried high and Chambers (1972 p 44 and p 47) suggested that limited mobility may have kept the marriage rate down in certain areas, though he doubted whether distance was a significant barrier to the course of true love. At the other extreme, Eversley (1957 p 413) has argued 'that greater freedom of movement cannot have contributed to the increase of population by providing more scope for marriage', and yet Deane and Cole's argument might suggest that it did, by drawing potentially marriageable individuals to industrialising centres. Certainly, the direct contribution that mobility prior to marriage may have had on overall trends is relatively insignificant when set against the changes which occurred in age at marriage. Nonetheless, as marriage did involve non-local associations, the frequency of such events, the spatial linkages they imply and the potential patterns of movement they do suggest are worthy of further examination. Findings on these issues would add a dynamic geographical element to the demographic picture the above literature specifies.

III : Marriage and mobility

Various studies have used the material contained in the Anglican parish registers to comment on the mobility which occurred at marriage. Most of these enquiries have raised queries about the precise meaning of the evidence available in the marriage registers and some have questioned its accuracy. As a consequence the uses to which these data have been put and the emphasis placed on the record have varied somewhat from one discipline to another. It is appropriate to comment on some of the issues and interpretations which have been made of these data prior to specifying how they are to be interpreted in this study. Three themes are presented in this section:

1. The nature of the marriage record.

2. Previous interpretations.

3. The proposed approach.

1. The nature of the marriage record.

The accuracy and reliability of the record of vital events documented in parish registers has been the subject of much debate. Most criticisms have been aimed specifically at the baptismal and burial series and relatively little attention has been focussed on the record of marriage. It is likely that many of the more general doubts concerning under-registration, non-conformity, and the mis-match between parish boundaries and urban growth all effect the record (Krause 1965 p 385). However, unlike the baptismal and burial series, from 1754 a legislative framework was provided in Hardwicke's Marriage Act, which, it is claimed, did much to improve the quality of the record (26, Geo 11, Cap 33, 1753).

The Act had been promulgated to rectify the abuses arising from the lax procedure which had previously accompanied both the notification and registration of marriage. Prior to 1754, a valid marriage could be celebrated by a minister in priest's orders at any time or place without registration or notice, and without the consent of parents or guardians of the parties concerned. There was no difficulty in finding a priest willing to perform the ceremony and local 'Gretna Greens' were common, as the frequently cited marriage shop parishes testify (Chambers 1957 p 329). As a result, the earlier marriage registers are unreliable and may misrepresent the true local marriage pattern. This is of critical significance when dealing with records covering the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a point frequently overlooked in assessing the evidence taken from them. Stone (1977) has pointed to the high level of common law association, and the different attitudes prevailing towards marriage solemnisation in this early period and it is therefore not sur-

prising that the record is suspect. It is for this reason that this enquiry commences after the enactment of the Marriage Act.

After 1754 the legislative framework which was established did much to improve the quality of the record. The procedure of notification of marriage, whether by banns or licence, the emphasis on usual place of residence and the requirement of registration in 'proper books of vellum' and witnesses to the event, coupled with the limited persons exempt by the Act - Jews, Quakers and Royalty - give the marriage register greater credibility. (Steel 1968, Edwards 1976 p 24-27).

How far such faith is justified is an open question. It is hard to imagine how any omissions such as common law marriage might be traced, (Bradley 1973, Wrigley 1973) non-conformity presents equal difficulties. In theory such marriages should have taken place in the Anglican church, but in the registers examined in this study no entries refer specifically to the marriages of dissenters. This suggests that either the established church lived in harmony with non-conformists (Skinner 1964, Trinder 1973 Ch 14, pp 267-311) or that they escaped registration and married privately in their own congregations outside the law. Some omission, because of non-conformity, therefore seems likely. Laxity by incumbents and their curates may also have produced some inaccuracies in the record. Laslett (1977) has emphasised the problems facing the cleric in compiling his registers, the future use of which he had no knowledge. This might affect annual totals of events, but more importantly produces variations in the level of detail entered. This is particularly noticeable in the specification of extraparochial origins. In the records of some parishes, the low level of entry makes the accuracy of the record suspect, particularly in urban parishes and industrial areas where the interpretation of settlement, and usual place of residence appears to have been slightly different from the countryside parishes. Langton and Laxton (1976, 1978) indicate however, that much can be discovered from Liverpool's registers for this period.

The requirements under the act produced a standard format for the entry of marriages in the parish register. This was clearly laid down on the title page of most of the marriage registers used in this study (Figure 1.5). The detail entered does however vary quite considerably (Figure 1.6). Some entries specify both the occupation and age of the parties to matrimony as well as the standard requirements, of date and form of marriage authorisation, usual place of residence (of this parish or elsewhere), status of the parties, and signatures by parties and witnesses. Given the variability of entries, not all of these details are available in all parishes for all of the period under consideration. Consequently in the study which follows only some of the material is used. A further modification to marriage registration took place prior to the onset of Civil Registration in 1837, when in 1812, Rose's Act (52, Geo III, c146) was introduced and promulgated on 1st January 1813. This did much to improve the recording process, by producing standard register books and specifying or rather reiterating the form entries should take. This study gains no benefits from the new legislation as it deals only with the years from Hardwicke's Act to the end of the decade just prior to the implementation of Rose's Act (1810).

In theory at least the Anglican Marriage record does provide a reasonably complete statement of both the frequency of events and the level of extraparochial contact characteristic of such marriages. It may also provide a limited number of additional social variables that can be used to glean explanatory insights into the recorded pattern. In practice this is often not the case and most studies depend on a sub-set of all possible variables.

Figure 1.5 The format of registration for marriages after Hardwicke's Act (1754).

THE

REGISTER

OF

MARRIAGES

Solemnized in

The Act of Parliament directs, that every *Marriage Register-Book* shall be marked at the Top of each *Page* 1, 2, 3, and so on; that every Page thereof shall be ruled with Lines at equal Distances; and in order to prevent any Mistakes that might happen in entering the Marriages in the Register, the following Form is prescribed in the Act.

A. B. of [the / this] Parish and
C. D. of [the / this] Parish were
married in this [Church / Chapel] by [Banns / Licence] with Consent of [Parents / Guardians] this
Day of in the Year
by me *I. K.* [Rector / Vicar / Curate]
This Marriage was solemnized between Us *A. B.* *C. D.*
In the Presence of *E. F.* *G. H.*

In order to render this Register as plain as possible, we have in the next Page given four Examples, by which the Blanks on the other Pages may be filled up as the Case requires. The writing Paper at the End is designed for an Index of the Names of the Parties, and Numbers of the several Registers.

N. B. When both, or either of the Parties live in an extra-parochial Place, the Marriage must be solemnized in one of the Parish-Churches adjoining; and that extra-parochial Place must be specified in the Marriage Register-Book of such Parish.

Forms of MARRIAGE-REGISTERS filled up.

I. A Form when the Marriage is solemnized by Banns, and the Parties of Age. No 1.

Benjamin Matthewson - - - - *of* [this] Parish, Widower, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *and* Anna Maria Blachford, Widow, - - *of* [the] Parish of St Martin in the Fields in the Liberty of Westminster, and County of Middlesex, *were Married in this* [Church] *by* [Banns] - fourteenth - - - - *Day of* September *in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and* Fifty four - - - - - - - *by me* Jeremiah Speedwell [Vicar].

This Marriage was solemnized between Us { Benjamin Matthewson, Anna Maria Blachford,
In the Presence of { Thomas Southern. William Knox.

II. A Minor by Licence with Consent of Parents or Guardians. No 2.

Jonathan Longbottom - - - - - *of* [the] Parish of St Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, in the County of Surry, a Minor, *and* Maria Theresa Farringdon - - - *of* [the] Parish of St Stephen Walbrook, in the City of London, and County of Middlesex, Spinster, *were Married in this* [Church] *by* [Licence] with Consent of [Guardians] - - - - - - - *this* - twenty fifth - - - *Day of* April - *in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and* Fifty four - - - - - - - - *by me* Ezekiel Watson [Rector].

This Marriage was solemnized between Us { Jonathan Longbottom, Maria Theresa Farringdon,
In the Presence of { George Hawkins. Timothy Horncastle.

III. By Banns, when one lives in an extra-parochial Place. No 3.

William Richardson - - - - - - - - *of* [the] Parish of St Leonard Shoreditch, in the County of Middlesex, - - *and* Susanna Summerfield, a Minor, - - *of* [the] Liberty of Norton Falgate, - *were Married in this* [Church] *by* [Banns] with Consent of [Parents] - - - - - - - - - *this* - twenty fourth - - *Day of* May - *in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and* Fifty four - - - - - *by me* Richard Griffiths [Curate].

This Marriage was solemnized between Us { William Richardson, Susanna Summerfield,
In the Presence of { Stephen Summerfield. Anna Maria Summerfield.

IV. A Form by Licence, and by Order from the High Court of Chancery. No 4.

Sir John Williamson - - *of* [the] Parish of Barnet, in the County of Middlesex, Bart. - - - - - - - - - - - - *and* Lady Charlotta Sophia Cecil - - - - - - *of* [this] Parish, a Minor, - *were Married in this* [Church] *by* [Licence] and by an Order from the High Court of Chancery, *this* - tenth - - *Day of* July - *in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and* Fifty four - - - - - - - *by me* William Stackhouse [Minister].

This Marriage was solemnized between Us { John Williamson, Charlotta Sophia Cecil,
In the Presence of { Thomas Atkinson. Samuel Tomkyn.

Printed for JOSEPH FOX, in *Westminster Hall*; and BENJAMIN DOD, at the *Bible* and *Key* in *Ave-Mary Lane*, near St *Paul's*.

(The Year 1784) Page 21

No 104

Thomas Harvey of [this] Parish
and Catharine Berry of [this]
Said Parish were
Married in this [Church] by [Banns]
this Ninth Day of June in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred
and Eighty four by me Geo Knowles [Rector]
This Marriage was solemnized between Us { Thomas Harvey + his Mark
Catharine Berry + her Mark
In the Presence of { William Bottley
Mary Gale + her Mark

No 105

John Owens of [this] Parish
and Eleanor Lewis of [this]
said Parish were
Married in this [Church] by [Banns]
this Thirtieth Day of June in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred
and Eighty five by me Geo: Knowles [Rector]
This Marriage was solemnized between Us { John Owens
Eleanor Lewis
In the Presence of { Richd Langford
Maria James

1785 No 106

John Goddard of [this] Parish
and Anne Lloyd of [this]
said were
Married in this [Church] by [Banns]
this Twelfth Day of September in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred
and Eighty five by me Geo: Knowles [Rector]
This Marriage was solemnized between Us { John Goddard X his Mark
Anne Lloyd
In the Presence of { Thomas Lloyd
Eleanor Lloyd

1785 No 107

Richard Bowden of [this] Parish
and Elizabeth Davies of [this]
said were
Married in this [Church] by [Banns]
this Second Day of October in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred
and Eighty five by me Geo. Knowles [Rector]
This Marriage was solemnized between Us { Richard Bowden X his Mark
Elizabeth Davies + her Mark
In the Presence of { William Good
John Harris

Figure 1.6 An example of marriage entries from the parish of Wistanstow Shropshire.

2. Previous interpretations of the marriage record.

Of the three main demographic variables recorded in the parish register, marriage is the only one which specifically requires the participants to record their parish of origin. Such data have been used by a number of scholars to establish something of the character of longer and shorter distance mobility in past time, as has been noted earlier, and a number of general points can be made from these enquiries. Two issues are central to most enquiries and these have been resolved in different ways. Firstly, how complete and reliable is the record and secondly how should the extant data be interpreted?

The answer to the first of these questions is in part implied by the legislation which surrounded marriage during the later eighteenth century and onwards, which suggests that there was a general improvement in the extent of registration and in its general accuracy. Nonetheless doubt must be expressed over the accuracy and completeness of the parish of origin information. As only four weeks residence were necessary under the act to fulfil the obligation of settlement registration in the ecclesiastical parish, many parties to matrimony may have entered a parish from elsewhere and achieved the residence qualification prior to matrimony. Thus the data may under-record the actual level of pre-marital mobility which occurred. Secondly, the interpretation of the parish of origin statement clearly varied from incumbent to incumbent and from one community to another. Chambers (1972 p 46) has argued that certain incumbents' liberal interpretation of parish of origin may have arisen from groups of parishes being considered as areas of common settlement rights, but the high level of entries from adjacent parishes in most registers would seem to operate against such a conclusion. Certainly, extraparochial entries are less frequent than might be expected in the records of some parishes (for example Madeley and Broseley in Shropshire) implying under recording, but there is no way that this can be checked or overcome, short of cross

matching with census data and this is impossible for the eighteenth century. Some incumbents indicate by their entries that more mobility was occurring than was actually registered, by their entries of 'sojourners' in the registers, whose parish of origin goes unspecified, but who were undoubtedly transients (for example in Church Stretton). These limitations in entry would suggest that the registers are incomplete in the record of mobility they present, but most scholars, while acknowledging this, accept what is recorded as a fairly representative statement of the overall pattern of mobility associated with marriage.

Two responses to this problem occur in the literature. The first, characteristic of historical demographers and historical geographers, is to recognise the problem and yet to use the data, acknowledging its limitations. This has allowed them to examine, on the assumption that the record is reasonably correct, variations in the level of endogamy and exogamy through time and the factors which may have influenced these trends (Eversley 1957, Chambers 1957, Sogner 1963, Peel 1942, Constant 1948, Perry 1969a). Alongside such a consideration, attention has also been given to the extent and orientation of marriage horizons and the way these have changed (Maltby 1969, 1971).

The second approach has been to treat marriage data simply as surrogate information, reflecting other general patterns of circulation. This has involved using it to describe mean, or community information fields, where the completeness and accuracy of the record in past or present periods is incidental, provided it matches with other types of social contact pattern, and can serve as a useful general measure of interaction. These studies have produced probability surfaces of likely patterns of spatial association and specific statements of the gradient of distance-decay in the selection of marriage partners (Hagerstrand 1957, Marble & Nystuen 1963, Morrill & Pitts 1967, Perry 1969b, Shannon & Nystuen 1972, Ogden 1974, Taylor 1975).

Between these two extremes lies the work in genetics, which seems to interpret the record without any historical qualification, as does the work undertaken by American sociologists on marriage ties in the city during the twentieth century. (Harrison and Boyce 1972 and Ogden 1973a for a review of the former and papers by Bossard 1932, Anderson 1934, Davie and Reeves 1939, Abrams 1943, Ellsworth 1948 and Clarke 1952 for the latter.) The approach of this enquiry is to follow the procedures adopted by historical demographers and geographers, which is to acknowledge that the record is incomplete, but still worthy of attention if any quantitative insight is to be gained into marriage practices.

The interpretation of the marriage record is equally varied and problematic. Most scholars have been attracted to it because of the locational information it contains and the possibilities this presents for defining the extent of marriage fields, but few state categorically how these locational references relate to migration or mobility. Indeed most researchers are at pains to point out that there is no clear cut link between this record and the actual direction of movement. The studies that exist, therefore, while providing some useful insights into marriage patterns in specific areas, do little to advance any interpretation of the record which might indicate a direct association between marriage and mobility, nor do they encourage the search for such a link. They do suggest however that various insights into patterns of circulation in past time and the rate of change in such patterns can be gained from this source.

It would be inappropriate to provide an extensive review of all the literature which has elaborated these themes, but it is worth noting certain of the key findings of the studies which have been undertaken, either prior to, or contemporaneously with this study. They provide a useful context for the section which follows, but it should be noted that many of these enquiries were pioneer statements and frequently were not directly concerned with the issues which are central to this thesis.

The studies most directly concerned with the theme of geographical mobility, which are the natural forerunners of this enquiry, are those by Peel (1942) and Constant (1948). Peel was essentially concerned with patterns of intermarriage in four small Northamptonshire parishes from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, as they cast light on population stability in an anthropomorphic, genetic sense. He noted the characteristic small scale (less than 5 miles) range of interaction with high endogamy rates (greater than 80 per cent) during the seventeenth century; the localised pattern changing during the eighteenth century with a decline in endogamy; only to be followed in the early decades of the nineteenth century prior to 1830 by an increase in intraparochial marriage (cf. Eversley 1957). Thereafter endogamy progressively declined and a pattern of increasing extraparochial contact developed. A comparable pattern was identified by Constant using data from both Northamptonshire and Hertfordshire, though he placed greater stress on the actual dimensions of marriage horizons, comparing them with sample register material from other counties, and on the variation in these horizons between upland and lowland settings. The former was characterised by smaller territories of interaction and later development of wider fields than the latter. This pattern of change, he argued, reflected advances in national mobility and improvements in transportation. The goals of these papers were essentially to monitor marriage horizons in a descriptive and sequential manner, by implication suggesting that such changes reflect the course of events in the wider society.

Other geographers have, since these enquiries, also examined marriage patterns, and, while not dealing with the same period or places, have sought to explain the forces which control the dimensions of the marriage field. Perry (1969a) analysed marriage horizons and the decline in endogamy among the working class population in 27 Dorsetshire parishes from 1837-1936, contrasting the Chalk and Vale parish environments. He emphasised the contrasting patterns of distance-decay in the selection of

partners pre and post 1880, the role of village size and population density, regional location, literacy, the distance from neighbouring towns and railway stations, social and economic changes in wages and working conditions and the role of the bicycle as key factors in breaking down rural isolation. This study suggests that the major changes in patterns of isolation occurred well after the eighteenth century and the 'mobility transition', to use Zelinsky's term, was late rather than early in an English context. This does not mean however that the earlier period, when industrialisation and population growth were expanding, is not of equal interest. Similar changes are documented by Ogden (1974) also using marriage data for the Ardeche area of southern France, but the contrast in data between England and France, and the later date of the study, makes it of less interest to the present enquiry.

Few other published studies by geographers exist on this topic although a number of researchers at both under- and post-graduate level have examined these data, particularly for the nineteenth century period. Thus Dennis (1977) has used the marriage record to document the character of urban community linkage in nineteenth century Huddersfield. Hall (1974) has used the data from parish registers in her study of the Peak District and Millard (1976) has examined the marriage distances of six North Buckinghamshire parishes between 1754-1913. At an undergraduate level, McLellan (1976) has considered both Anglican parish registers and marriage allegations and bonds and the patterns of mobility they describe in a sample of Yorkshire parishes. The emphasis in most of these studies has primarily been on the localised character of interaction and gradient of the distance-decay profile.

It is necessary to turn to studies in historical demography by historians to find other approaches to this material. Reference is made by Chambers (1957) in his pioneer work on the Vale of Trent to marital mobility, but it is a minor part of that enquiry. Similar passing reference to

geographical mobility occurs in the work of Ashton (1955). No focussed attention from historians was given to this aspect of marital behaviour prior to the pioneer paper by Eversley (1957).

Eversley, writing of Worcestershire parishes, noted many of the features recognised by Peel and Constant. Using the registers of 12 parishes near Bromsgrove and employing aggregative analysis on their registers, he constructed a picture of both total population change and marriage habits for the period 1660-1850. He noted the variations in levels of exogamy throughout the period and these match the trends documented elsewhere, such that there is no continuous and progressive increase in exogamy and hence mobility on marriage throughout the period, but rather periods of increasing mobility followed by times when such extraparochial contact was less frequent. He also examined the relationship between the demand for extraparochial relationships and the demographic size of the parish. Here he was forced to conclude ''there does not seem to be any pattern in this: one would have expected that the smaller the parish the greater the need for mixed marriages owing to the impossibility of finding a partner in a place of 200 souls, but this is not the case!(p 412). This conclusion however may well arise from the small number of parishes in his analysis rather than any weaknesses in the argument itself. He concludes that there is well established evidence of population mobility in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and that the direction of movement and the underlying causes are of little importance to the overall demography (p 413).

From these and other review articles considering the extent of mobility during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century a number of other general points can be made about marital mobility in this period. Firstly, it is clear that extraparochial marriage was common during these years, but that the level of exogamy varied both in time and space, though no full explanation of such variation has been presented. Secondly, where attention has been given to marriage horizons (Maltby 1969, 1971) the general

conclusion is that during the eighteenth century they were essentially local and varied somewhat according to the regional setting of the parish, with smaller interaction fields characteristic of upland communities only to expand in scale during the nineteenth century. Topography has also been stressed in the orientation and shape of marriage fields directing patterns of association. Little attention has been given to the direction of the actual linkages recorded in the marriage registers or to how these linkages might relate to any migration flows within the society at this time. The suggestion has been made that variation in marriage habits relates to the size and economy of the parish concerned, though this has rarely been formalised in the studies that have been undertaken. Most of the enquiries have simply referred to a small number of contiguous parishes or indeed to individual parishes rather than attempting to examine marital data for either a larger area or for a set of communities stratified according to some potential ordering or explanatory factor. This means that many aspects of marital behaviour remain to be explored more fully.

In addition to these studies which stress the magnitude and extent of extraparochial marital behaviour in a temporal and spatial context, a number of enquiries have concentrated on the social variables present in the parish records. Schofield (1971a) has examined age-specific mobility from parish listings, but most registers are deficient in age details during the eighteenth century and it seems likely that no systematic analysis of this theme will emerge. It may well be however that in their analysis of age at marriage from the national sample of parish registers, the Cambridge Group may provide further details on this topic. Information on this issue is at present rather piecemeal.

Some attention has also been given to occupation, and by implication, to social class and marriage. The Anglican registers provide limited information on this topic, but a fuller, if possibly biased, data set is available in the Marriage Allegations and Bonds issued prior to marriage by

licence (Elliott 1973). These records indicate that extraparochial marriage was more frequently authorised by licence than banns procedures, that it was more characteristic of the higher social groups and that higher levels of ability to sign the register occur in this sub-population. Few of these records have yet been analysed in detail and more needs to be known on this topic, though, as always, this is constrained by the data which are available.

Two other issues have also received some attention. Marriage seasonality has been examined by a number of researchers to isolate the role of ecclesiastical and customary practice in shaping the annual incidence of events (Bradley 1970, Ogden 1973b, Edwards 1977). These studies indicate that both the church and regional customs played a part in determining the frequency of events on a monthly basis. Finally, in an attempt to monitor the course of social change, the records of signatures by parties to matrimony have been examined to provide a coarse surrogate measure of the level of literacy (Stone 1969, Schofield 1968, 1973). These studies reveal the potential hidden in the marriage record rather than presenting an exhaustive analysis. They are therefore a beginning, they raise many questions, but they do suggest that significant social variations existed in marriage practice which are well worthy of further investigation.

This review, while far from exhaustive, highlights the general level of knowledge available from, and the types of approach taken to, the records contained in Anglican marriage registers. If the characteristics of society during periods in the past are to be explored more fully, and their rates of change through time are to be considered, the continuity of these data provides a valuable and fertile source for such enquiry.

3. The proposed approach.

This thesis, drawing on Anglican parish register marriage data for Shropshire, adopts an approach which builds on previous enquiries and attempts to provide a fuller factual and explanatory statement concerning marriage and mobility. While the enquiry is restricted to one source and no use is made of Marriage Allegations or Bonds, it does aim to treat the records of rather more parishes than have hitherto been considered. This increase in areal coverage has two advantages. Firstly, it allows more comment to be made on regional variation in marriage habits and secondly it makes possible the examination of marital behaviour in places of contrasting demographic size and economic condition. This wider range of enquiry allows the geographical relationships within the data set to be explored more thoroughly, but it does restrict the study. Its geographical emphasis on the spatial aspects of marriage restricts the comment that can be made on the historical and demographic context of the study parishes. This is receiving attention from scholars in other, more appropriate, disciplines in this county (Jones 1968, 1973, Hey 1974) and in the country as a whole for this and earlier periods (Levine 1976, Martin 1977, Macfarlane 1977 and CAMPOP's continuing studies).

Any consideration of the mobility accompanying marriage must begin by establishing the relative magnitude of extraparochial association for the period concerned. Far too often, the extraparochial linkages in the marriage record have been abstracted and used without placing the data in a full community context. This can give a misleading impression of the numbers involved in such marriages and creates the view that the fields so described were characteristic of all within the community.

At the outset therefore temporal variation in marriage is discussed, followed by a disaggregation of the annual marriage trend into endogamous and exogamous components. An attempt is made to assess the relative

importance of the exogamous marriage component in the overall marriage trend, and in so doing an impression is created of the total marital ecology of contrasting parish environments. The results indicate that extraparochial linkage forms a constant and critical component in most small rural communities. The emphasis in this analysis is fundamentally structural rather than spatial.

Discussion then moves to a documentation of the spatial characteristics of marriage fields. Initially consideration is given to the dimension of marriage territories from 1754-1810 in various regional and community settings. This suggests that certain structural controls affect the scale and orientation of these horizons. Subsequently, the evolution of the aggregate patterns is examined and the relationship between the proportion of exogamy and its spatial dimension is discussed.

Attention then turns to the additional variables available in the registers. Consideration is given to the choice of marriage procedure, whether by banns or licence, the association between this and literacy and occupation and to the annual seasonality of events and their relationship to customary constraints. This section provides a fuller social context for the structural and spatial analysis presented in the preceding sections.

With the marriage patterns established the argument turns towards the thorny question of interpretation and explanation. Marriage itself is a non-migratory act and the interpretation of the entries of extraparochial brides or grooms has presented many problems to previous workers. These problems are examined and an alternative proposition advanced. To argue that these difficulties are easily or completely overcome, and that the scepticism of earlier researchers is unjustified would be misleading. However, a case can be advanced which suggests that these data are capable of reinterpretation.

The reinterpretation which is proposed provides fuller insights than simply viewing the data as documenting generalised marriage horizons and community mean information fields. It is achieved by embedding the marital decision in a wider social and geographical perspective. This seeks out and documents the role of pre-marital mobility within society, notes its likely spatial structure and presents a model of such mobility which is then fitted to the marriage data. Findings from this enquiry indicate that there may well be a link between the marriage record and pre-marital employment mobility which can be identified. This suggests that the record does provide an insight, however partial and age-specific, into migration paths.

In conclusion an attempt is made to relate these findings with those of other workers and an overview of marriage and mobility in the latter half of the eighteenth and first decade of the nineteenth century is proposed. This allows the presentation of a fuller perspective on the dimensions of mobility which accompanied the social and economic changes of this period of major population growth and accelerating urban and industrial development.

Chapter 2 Marriage and mobility : the sample framework

I : Introduction

One of the most vital periods of change experienced by English society occurred during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This change involved the transition from a pre-industrial world, essentially local and regional in its character, to one dominated by the factory and the town with far wider horizons and national in its orientation. Demographic growth, agricultural change and industrial innovation and development combined to modify irrevocably both the form of the English landscape and the pattern and flow of life within it. The rate at which these changes occurred showed considerable variation between and within regions and the selection of a study area for the examination of any aspect of this general problem is not easy. This is particularly so if the findings are to be considered in a national context or to have wider application beyond the peculiar circumstances of the study region.

A justification for the selection of a study area is easily provided in many cases. The data necessary for such enquiry may only be available in a limited set of places, or the special character of the area itself and the problems it possesses may automatically direct attention to it. Neither of these two validations hold absolutely for the study county of Shropshire. Marriage data are obtainable from most parishes for the eighteenth century and the problems and situation of the county are in many ways no different from many others. It is in fact this very intermediate position that makes the county of interest and makes it typical of a set of counties in England during the period. Hence its selection in this enquiry.

Shropshire is a county of great variety. In physical terms this is expressed by the varied regional environments that exist within its boundaries. The flat north Shropshire plain and the riverine lowlands of the

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Shropshire is a county of great variety. In physical terms this is expressed by the varied regional environments that exist within its boundaries. The flat north Shropshire plain and the riverine lowlands of the

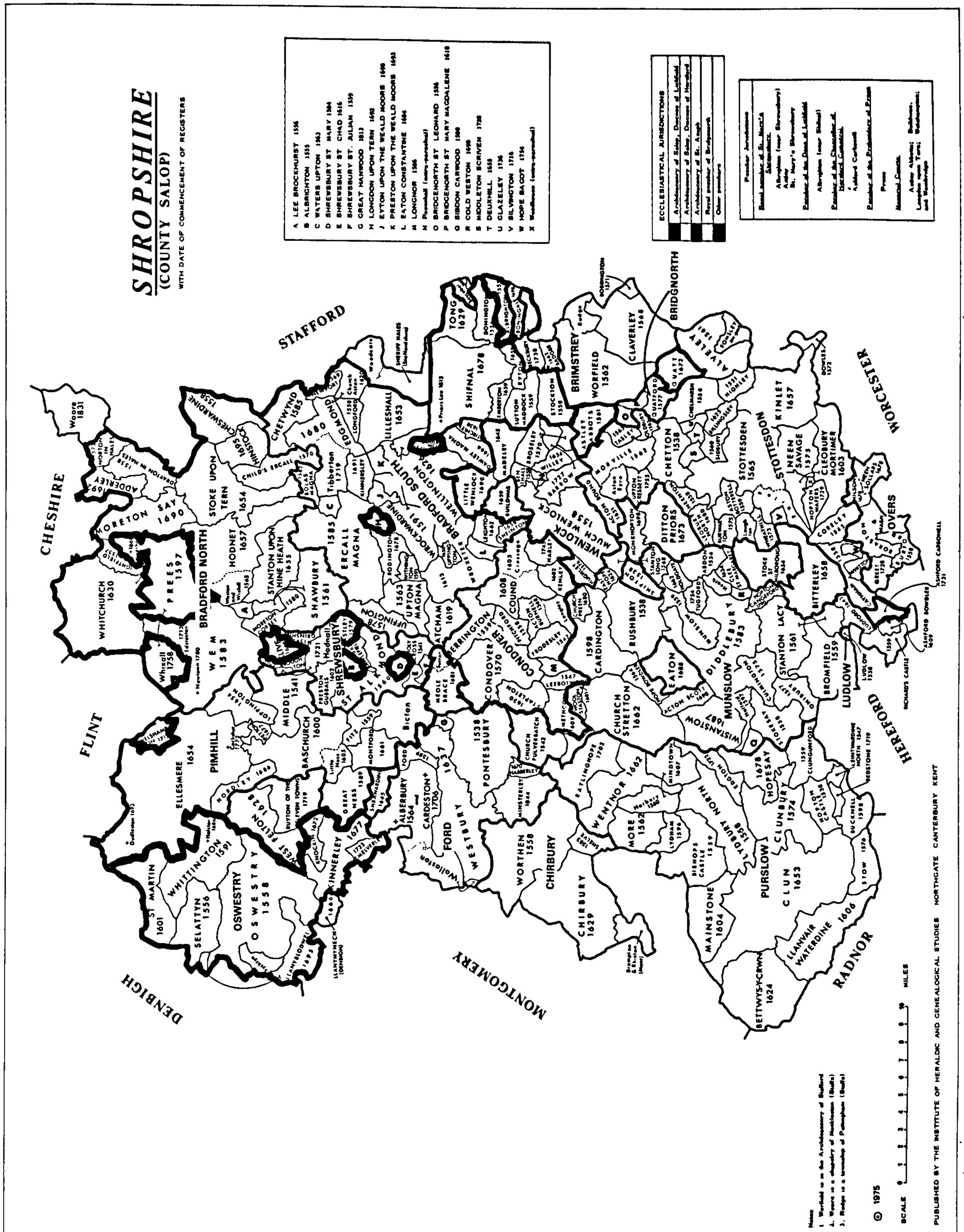


Figure 2.1 Shropshire parish boundaries and administrative divisions in the eighteenth century.

in the development of iron manufacturing in the county and elsewhere in the county. They were not alone in exploiting the opportunities available, and coal mining, iron making (with all its allied craft developments) and pottery and ceramic manufacturing made this region of the county an important industrial centre. As such, it must have attracted young men and women from both the local area and further afield. This however, was not the only centre of such activity. Sporadic workings of minerals occurred in a number of places scattered throughout the southern hill country. The Snailbeach-Pontesbury area was a centre for the extraction of lead, zinc and barytes; the Clee Hills saw the working of localised ore bodies and the quarrying of stone. Small coal pits operated in a number of parishes in Condover and Munslow hundreds, while limestone was quarried and processed in the dales and along Wenlock Edge (Rowley 1972 pp 207-234).

The mix of a healthy agricultural structure and some industrial opportunities within the county makes it possible to select parishes for study representative of both types of economy, and by so doing, it is possible to consider the effects such economic practices had on both the numbers marrying and the level of mobility which accompanied these solemnisations. This internal variety allows intra-county marital mobility between parishes of different economic character to be discussed as well as allowing the consideration of linkages between such parishes and the outside world.

The counties surrounding Shropshire presented contrasting opportunities to Shropshire residents. In the west, the Welsh counties, while offering some agricultural employment, offered little else to attract migrants and the same also applied to Herefordshire in the south. To the east and north, however, both agricultural and industrial openings were available in Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire. The cities of Liverpool and Manchester, Stoke and Birmingham, and the numerous smaller centres of the West Midlands were easily accessible from both the north and south of the county. If these destinations were import-

ant to the residents of Shropshire as areas of potential employment this should be reflected in the record of marriage linkages.

Such internal variety does not in itself constitute a whole justification. Other counties must be accepted as of equal interest during this period. The selection of Shropshire however was also made because it has an extensive and centrally collected set of parish registers. During the early years of the twentieth century, many amateur historians and clerics produced for publication transcripts of a large number of registers. These form an immediately accessible fund of material, together with the numerous manuscript registers deposited in the Shropshire Record Office (SRO). Given the difficulty now surrounding the abstraction of parish register data in many parishes, this central deposition has proved invaluable (Local Popl. Studies 1969), and it is on this material that the study has been based.

It is with this background in mind that the samples selected have been drawn, but prior to considering the actual parishes used in this enquiry, it is worth placing the Shropshire records in a wider perspective by examining John Rickman's documentation of marriage in the Parish Register Abstracts (PRAs). These, while far from satisfactory, do allow an assessment of the Shropshire marriage record in a national context and also provide the opportunity to examine, in general terms, intra-county marriage trends within the study county.

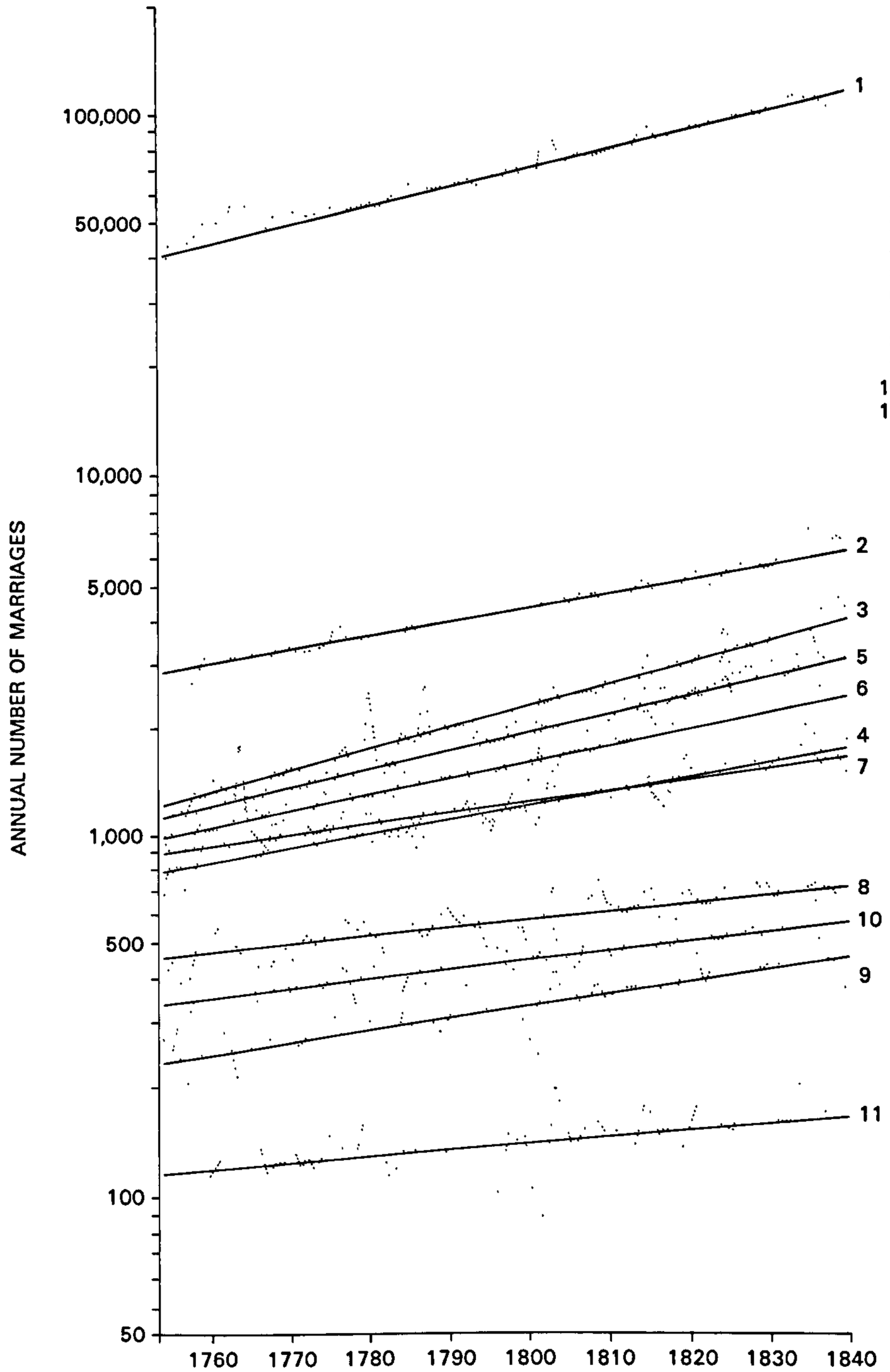
II : The national and local context from aggregate sources: Shropshire marriage data in the PRAs

In the first four censuses John Rickman collected information on the numbers of marriages contracted in each parish from 1754-1830, from returns made by the clergy. These he presented in aggregated form for England and Wales, individual counties and the constituent hundreds,

boroughs and liberties of each county area. Comparable data were also collected in 1841, which extends the data set for a further decade at the national and county level, but the reorganisation of intra-county information on the basis of Poor Law Registration districts makes the data incompatible with the earlier period (Drake 1973 p 7-43). These data have been generally considered rather unreliable, but they are interesting, notwithstanding their limitations. For a discussion of these see Glass (1965 p 221-46), Chambers (1972 p 64-66 and 113-114), Pryce (1973), Wrigley (1976), Edwards (1976 a and b).

In order to create a regional framework for this study, the PRA record for Shropshire and its adjacent counties, together with the English and Welsh national trends, are presented in Figure 2.2. These time series suggest that between these counties considerable variation existed in the numbers of marriages solemnised annually and some variations also occur in the rate at which they increased during the period 1754-1840. The annual rate of growth in numbers of events in Staffordshire and Cheshire is in excess of the rate of increase in England as a whole. Warwickshire and Worcestershire have annual rates of increase slightly below the national average; while Shropshire and the counties to the south and west experienced slower rates of increase.

Certain common periodicities exist in these series. This suggests that the trends in all counties were responding to some underlying controlling factors, which were universally experienced; though the timing varies from county to county. Most marked is the surge in numbers of marriages between 1801-03. This peak was recognised by Krause (1963 p 125), who suggested that this was greatest in areas 'north of the coal-line, the areas of most rapid modernisation', but, as the data in Figure 2.2 indicate, it was experienced in other areas as well. Prior to this date, annual numbers were lower and more erratic in all counties except the fastest growing and it is only after these years that numbers of marriages increased in all places.



KEY	% ANNUAL GROWTH
1. ENGLAND	1·7
2. WALES	1·22
3. STAFFORDSHIRE	2·05
4. WORCESTERSHIRE	1·15
5. WARWICKSHIRE	1·52
6. CHESHIRE	1·74
7. SHROPSHIRE	0·82
8. HEREFORDSHIRE	0·68
9. MONTGOMERYSHIRE	0·98
10. DENBIGHSHIRE	0·78
11. RADNORSHIRE	0·50

SOURCE: PRAs 1801-41

Figure 2.2 Annual marriage trends in selected counties 1754-1840.

Given the doubts surrounding Rickman's tabulations and their possible inaccuracy, too much should not be made of these data. However, marriage solemnisation probably does provide an indication in crude terms of the rates at which households were being formed, though many such formations probably occurred without formal registration. If this is a fair assumption, then these county variations suggest that certain environments were conducive to faster rates of formation than others. Such trends are influenced by the size, density and age structure of county populations, together with the state of their respective economies. All of this reinforces the arguments developed earlier of the associations between these factors and the rate of population growth. Some of these associations can be confirmed in crude terms by examining the relationship between the rate of increase in the number of marriages and those demographic variables available from the census covering the latter half of the period.

Using the information contained in the censuses of 1801 and 1811, as an approximate mid-point in the marriage series, the relationships between certain variables and the marriage trend were computed for the nine counties. The fastest rates of increase in numbers marrying per year were inversely correlated with the proportion of the population engaged in agricultural activity (Rs= 1801 =-0.8666: 1811 =-0.9000 : C.V. 0.01 = 0.783) suggesting that marriage increased most rapidly in the industrialising counties. There appears also to be a positive correlation between the marriage trend and population size (Rs 1801 = + 0.8666 1811 = + 0.8666 S 0.01) and population density (Rs 1801 and 1811 = + 0.8000 S 0.01), such that the larger and denser the population, the faster annual marriage totals increased. While there is no guarantee that the relative ranking of counties on these variables was constant from 1754-1840, or that the records for 1801 and 1811 accurately reflect the overall distribution, these relationships are interesting. For the latter half of the series,

when comparisons can be made of the stability of these distributions between census dates, they appear highly intercorrelated and in all cases remain significantly associated at better than 0.01 probability level. The associations probably therefore held good throughout the period.

These variations in marriage trends between counties are also reflected in the marriage rates that can be calculated using the census data. In order to increase the time period covered, the crude marriage rates presented in Table 2.1 are based on the number of marriages solemnised in the decade preceding the population enumeration. This procedure yields the lowest possible rate and is therefore the most conservative estimate. The results indicate considerable variation in the probability of marriage in particular counties, with only Warwickshire and Staffordshire having rates above the English average for most of the period. Shropshire emerges as having rates below those for England and of the same order as those characteristic of Wales.

The overall impression of the county, from these national records, is the intermediate character of its demographic record. As a county of mixed economy (42.3 per cent Heads of households in Agricultural employment in 1811), and average population increase (Chapter One), Shropshire falls into a mid position between its more rapidly industrialising neighbours to the east and its more rural adjacent counties to the south and west, and the rate of growth in annual numbers of marriage reflects this.

Contrasts between counties are matched by comparable internal variations within their constituent hundreds and boroughs in rates of annual marriage solemnisations. Figure 2.3 indicates this for Shropshire in the period from 1754-1830. These series, based on the parish data, which Rickman collected and aggregated for administrative areas, give an impression of the regional and temporal variation in marriage. They are unfortunately presented for a rather coarse spatial framework, which

Table 2.1 Marriage rates 1791-1840 in selected counties

Place	Marriages per 1000 population (Based on the average annual number of marriages per decade/the population at the end of the decade)				
	1791-1800	1801-1810	1811-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840
England	8.01	8.03	7.67	7.63	7.37
Wales	6.55	7.36	6.54	6.60	7.04
Staffordshire	7.18	8.23	7.93	7.99	8.04
Warwickshire	8.76	8.59	8.30	8.10	7.70
Cheshire	7.50	7.65	7.52	7.30	6.60
Shropshire	6.99	6.96	6.59	7.07	6.73
Worcestershire	7.52	7.76	7.15	7.65	7.70
Herefordshire	5.76	6.71	6.05	6.20	6.10
Denbighshire	6.44	7.13	6.60	6.40	6.50
Montgomeryshire	6.03	6.66	6.40	6.41	6.35
Radnorshire	6.64	6.98	6.44	6.08	6.78

Source: PRA Census Volumes 1801-41 Population Enumeration Census, 1801-41.

ANNUAL MARRIAGE TRENDS IN THE HUNDREDS AND BOROUGHS OF SHROPSHIRE 1754-1830
(Proportions in agriculture. Average percentages of heads of households in agricultural employment 1811-1831)

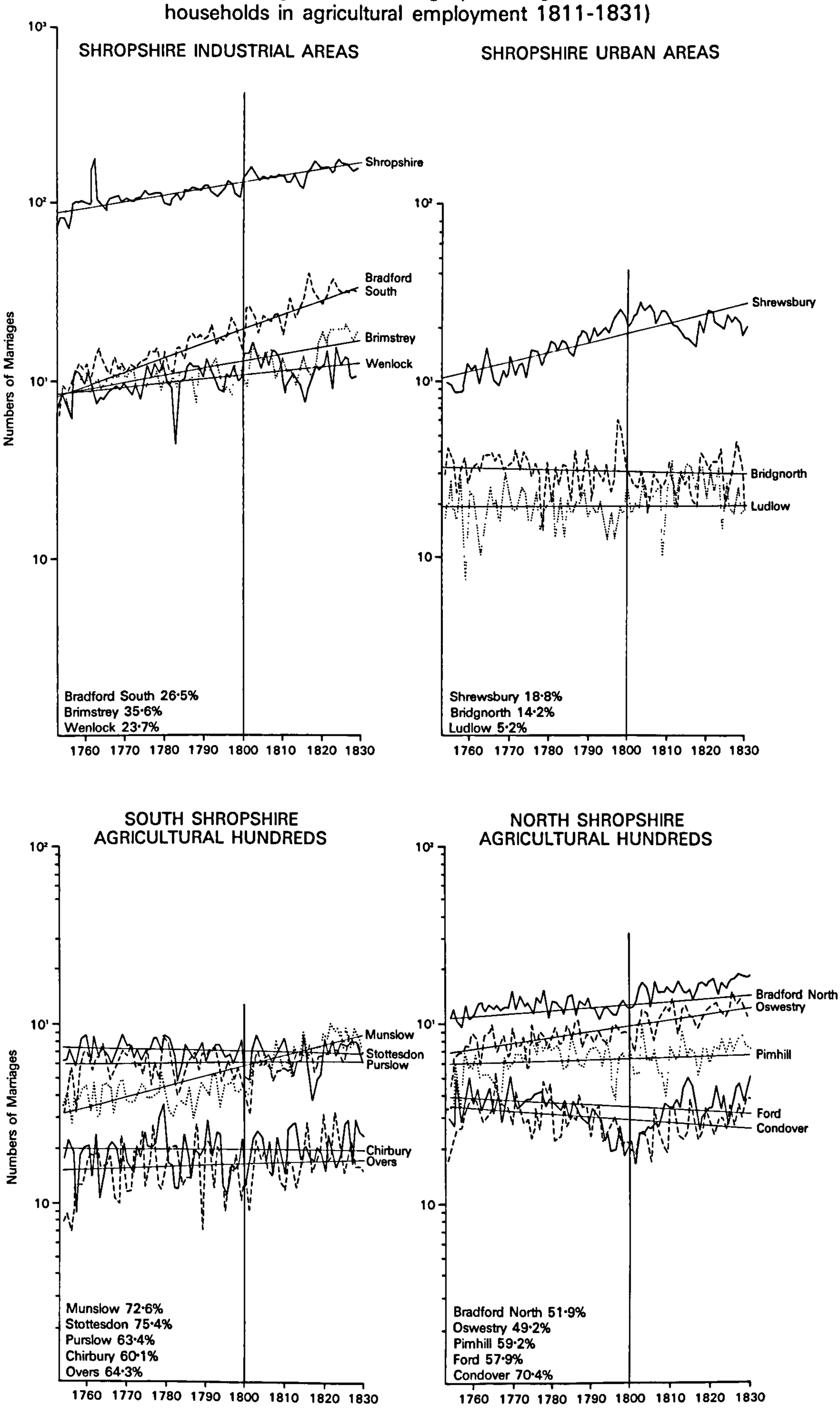


Figure 2.3 Annual marriage trends in the hundreds and boroughs of Shropshire 1754-1830.

gives a limited perspective on the pattern of areal differentiation. They are also subject to a number of errors, and while they probably reflect the overall magnitude and course of change, the actual totals must be considered suspect (Edwards 1976b p 38-39).

From 1754-1830, the rate of increase in the annual numbers of marriages in Bradford South (2.2 per cent per annum), Shrewsbury (1.67) and Munslow (1.65) was in excess of the rate for England (1.35). The hundreds of Brimstrey, including Halesowen and Oldbury in Worcestershire (0.98), and Oswestry (0.83) had rates of increase greater than the average for the county (0.79). Marriage in Bradford North (0.63), Ludlow (0.53) and Wenlock (0.45) increased at rates just below the annual increment for Shropshire, while the remaining hundreds showed stable or slightly declining trends.

Figure 2.3 reveals that, unlike the county series, these regional marriage totals show far greater annual variability. Given the potential inaccuracy in these figures and their apparent regular oscillation at five year intervals, no attempt has been made to smooth these series as the trends are reasonably clear. The overall trend for the total period clearly disguises two phases in most areas. Prior to 1800, few marriage records show any continuous exponential growth. It is only after this date that many areas show any major sustained increase in annual marriage totals. This is also evident in some of the rural counties and may well arise because of either a significant change occurring on or around this date, or because of inaccuracies in Rickman's record. It seems probable that the latter factor does contribute to the form of the marriage curve. It has been shown that inaccuracies certainly increase in Rickman's aggregation of data in the later decades of the eighteenth century, while his record appears more complete in the 1760s and early decades of the nineteenth century (Edwards 1976b p 38). If this does contribute to the form of the marriage record then perhaps the overall trend is not

unrepresentative. However, to illustrate the contrast between these two periods Table 2.2 presents the recomputed rates for the years pre-1800 and post-1800 and a considerable reorganisation in ranking occurs.

From 1754-1800, Shrewsbury and Bradford South are clearly pre-eminent; the borough of Wenlock and the hundred of Oswestry are near the county average; five hundreds show positive growth trends and the remaining seven areas show declining annual frequencies. Overall, the rate of increase in the county is lower than that which prevailed later and rapid growth in marriage levels is concentrated in relatively few areas. If marriage trends and household formation are related it would appear that increase was most rapid in the county town and in the two hundreds (Bradford South and Wenlock) covering the parishes of the north-east Shropshire coalfield, with Oswestry hundred, which had some mining activity, showing rapid increase as well. Elsewhere, in the rural hundreds, growth of households, and, by implication, population, was at best slow, reflected by low annual marriage levels. Such direct inference may be unfair given that marriage solemnisation does not imply subsequent settlement, but then most mobility at this time was local and perhaps the link is not unjustified.

These regional patterns change quite markedly after 1800. The Shropshire rate increases and the hundreds reorder themselves, with only Bradford South sustaining its earlier trend. Both Wenlock and Shrewsbury show declining trends in contrast to their earlier patterns and many rural areas show accelerating levels of solemnisation. There is little correlation at all between the two rank orders (Rs= +0.0029 CV 0.05 = 0.4250), indeed the order is nearly reversed. To indicate why this reversal occurred is not easy. The trends suggest that those areas favoured in the latter half of the eighteenth century became less popular as places where marriages might be celebrated, or less populous, in the early nineteenth century. Population growth alone does not account for

Table 2.2 Average Annual rates of change in numbers of marriages 1754-1830 in the hundreds and boroughs of Shropshire

	1754-1800	% Yr		1801-1830	% Yr
1	Shrewsbury	2.5	1	Bradford South	2.3
2	Bradford South	1.6	2	Brimstrey	2.2
			3	Overs	1.8
			4	Munslow	1.8
			5	Purslow	1.3
	ENGLAND	1.2		ENGLAND	1.3
3	Wenlock	0.7	6	Condover	1.2
			7	Chirbury	1.1
			8	Bridgnorth	1.1
			9	Ford	1.0
	SHROPSHIRE	0.5		SHROPSHIRE	0.8
4	Oswestry	0.5	10	Pimhill	0.8
5	Pimhill	0.2	11	Bradford North	0.7
6	Brimstrey	0.2	12	Oswestry	0.7
7	Chirbury	0.1	13	Ludlow	0.4
8	Bradford North	0.1	14	Shrewsbury	-0.61
9	Overs	0.1	15	Wenlock	-0.66
10	Purslow	-0.12	16	Stottesdon	-2.96
11	Munslow	-0.13			
12	Condover	-0.22			
13	Stottesdon	-0.25			
14	Ludlow	-0.34			
15	Bridgnorth	-0.44			
16	Ford	-0.94			

Source: Marriage data available in the PRAs 1801-1831.

Method of computation see Appendix 13 p. 266-268 in Wrigley E.A. (ed.) 1966, An Introduction to English Historical Demography. Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

this contrast and it seems more probable that changing economic fortunes, contrasting age structures, and a delayed surge in rural populations, coupled with a change in the customary practice in marriage (with perhaps migrants finding it easier to return home to marry) may well all contribute to this shift in emphasis. What is clear is that after 1800 rural hundreds generated and solemnised increasing numbers of marriages.

Against this background of changing numbers of marriages per year, it is useful to consider the regional variation which existed in crude marriage rates between 1791-1830 (Table 2.3). These calculated as in the previous section, reveal considerable spatial variation in the probability of marriage in particular hundreds and boroughs. Notwithstanding the falling numbers of marriages in Shrewsbury, the crude rate in the borough is considerably higher than in other areas. Rates above the county average also occur, as might be expected, in Bradford South and Brimstrey where marriage trends show a major increase, but the remaining areas show crude rates below this level (i.e. between 5-6/1000). The lowest rates are found in the borough of Ludlow and in Ford and Condover hundreds adjacent to Shrewbury. Stable rates at a time of growth in population would inevitably produce increasing numbers of marriage and this accounts, in part, for the growth in many rural hundreds.

To provide any explanation of the variations in marriage levels during these years is not easy. The task is hampered by the absence of additional social or economic data for the eighteenth century and by the potential inaccuracy in information of this type drawn from the early census volumes. Chapter One has suggested a number of forces that are considered to have influenced marriage levels and surrogate measures of some of these can be abstracted from the census enumeration volumes to examine the broad patterns of association present in Shropshire hundreds and boroughs in the years 1801-31.

Table 2.3 Marriage rates 1791-1830 in the hundreds and boroughs of Shropshire

Place	Marriages per 1000 population (Based on the Average Annual number of marriages per decade / the population at the end of the decade)			
	1791-1800	1801-1810	1811-1820	1821-1830
Shropshire	6.99	6.96	6.59	7.07
Bradford North	6.1	6.7	6.4	6.8
Bradford South	7.2	6.7	7.7	7.8
Brimstrey	8.7	6.7	6.8	8.7
Chirbury	5.7	4.9	6.4	5.7
Condover	4.6	4.3	4.9	5.3
Ford	4.5	4.7	6.1	6.2
Munslow	6.0	6.7	6.8	7.2
Oswestry	6.2	6.5	6.3	6.3
Overs	6.2	5.9	7.4	6.8
Pimhill	6.5	5.7	6.0	6.4
Purslow	6.0	5.5	6.0	5.8
Stottesden	6.1	6.0	5.0	6.3
Shrewsbury	14.5	13.9	9.2	9.4
Wenlock	6.2	7.7	5.5	6.5
Bridgnorth	7.7	5.9	6.5	6.2
Ludlow	4.7	5.3	6.2	4.6

Source: PRA Census Volumes 1801-31 and the Population Enumeration Volumes 1801-31.

Figures adjusted for areal compatability (Edwards 1976a, pp 21-22).

Table 2.4 documents the performance of each administrative area on fourteen variables which might be considered to be interrelated. It includes the marriage totals and trends for both the longer and shorter periods, the average crude marriage rates, various population characteristics, the proportion in non-agricultural employment and urban centres, and finally two crude measures of housing characteristics in each area. Examination of the Table reveals considerable variation between areas on each of these variables, though some are inevitably higher inter-correlated.

Of the variables presented here, the most unsatisfactory are those dealing with age structure and housing. Clearly, marriage frequency is likely to be associated with age structure, but the only data available to provide an insight into age structures are those recorded in the 1821 census. They are far from suitable, but are presented here as the earliest figures available. They provide both an absolute measure of proportions in the 20-30 age group and are used in the calculation of a crude fertility index. The record for Shropshire of these data reveals considerable under-enumeration of age details when it is compared with the aggregate population enumeration. Only for three areas do the classified populations match (Bridgnorth, Chirbury and Overs), in ten differences of less than 10 per cent occur (Stottesden, Ludlow, Pimhill, Wenlock, Condover, Oswestry, Ford, Bradford North, Brimstrey and Munslow) and in the last three of these the 1821 record details more than the population enumeration. Bradford South, Purslow and Shrewsbury have far more incomplete age data, while Shropshire as a whole has a -10.7 per cent deficit. The accuracy of the age variables must therefore be questioned. The housing data are also suspect, but this time in the sense that they are surrogates, and crude ones at that, for a far more complex situation.

Table 2.5 presents the rank correlation matrix for these variables and it is clear that marriage levels are not capable of simple explanation. The matrix does, however, indicate the direction of some of the associations

Table 2.4 Selected demographic, economic and settlement variables in the hundreds and boroughs of Shropshire 1801-31

	1 a	1 b	2	3 a	3 b	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Bradford North	4564	9378	6.5	0.7	0.43	23722	0.2110	1.08	733.3	15.89	13.88	5.12	48.1	51.02	0.154	1.08
Bradford South	7466	13335	7.4	2.3	2.13	32593	0.3817	1.09	841.2	14.87	15.45	4.89	73.5	46.82	0.159	1.13
Brimstrey	4381	8544	7.7	2.2	1.00	19775	0.3258	4.23	823.4	15.77	13.58	4.95	64.4	60.18	0.187	1.08
Chirbury	582	1326	5.7	1.1	-0.03	3534	0.1315	1.17	778.0	12.37	13.76	5.26	39.9	-	0.149	1.11
Condover	892	2085	4.8	1.2	-0.30	5719	0.1358	0.19	628.5	13.63	14.44	5.24	29.6	-	0.127	1.11
Ford	1104	2473	5.4	1.0	-0.24	6205	0.1591	0.96	752.1	16.12	15.41	4.89	42.1	-	0.169	1.19
Munslow	1739	3354	6.7	1.8	1.02	9683	0.1146	0.72	730.1	16.11	15.26	5.00	27.4	11.30	0.129	1.06
Oswestry	3163	6379	6.3	0.7	0.76	16345	0.2612	1.27	781.4	14.97	13.28	4.76	50.8	22.05	0.150	1.09
Overs	551	1231	6.6	1.8	0.27	2587	0.1354	0.54	779.7	15.72	15.06	5.21	35.7	-	0.140	1.05
Pimhill	2014	4636	6.2	0.8	0.09	11420	0.1772	0.54	659.7	15.63	14.02	5.21	40.8	52.05	0.131	1.07
Purslow	2034	4431	5.8	1.3	0.15	10349	0.0977	1.33	806.7	15.92	15.45	5.13	36.6	30.55	0.160	1.08
Stottesdon	2056	4887	5.9	-2.9	-0.16	11773	0.1349	0.20	750.2	14.88	14.85	5.02	24.6	13.28	0.122	1.05
Shrewsbury	6320	12711	11.8	-0.6	1.45	20090	0.8160	1.37	799.9	14.41	12.02	4.71	81.2	89.80	0.160	1.13
Wenlock	3378	7180	6.5	-0.7	0.46	16952	0.3718	0.23	620.2	14.38	14.24	4.56	76.3	71.50	0.123	1.07
Bridgnorth	775	2024	6.6	1.1	-0.27	4609	1.3169	0.56	564.9	16.10	11.31	4.22	85.8	93.70	0.136	1.10
Ludlow	760	1542	5.2	0.4	0.53	4530	16.1700	1.16	512.2	19.11	13.93	4.33	94.8	100.00	0.129	1.21

Source: The PRA and Population Enumeration Volumes of the Census 1801-31.
All data adjusted to match the marriage coverage.

Key:

1. a Marriage totals 1801-30.
   b Marriage totals 1754-1830 - Taken from the PRAs 1801-31 and standardised to cover identical areas.
2. Marriage rates. Crude rates per 1000 based on period 1791-1830.
3. a Marriage trend 1801-30.
   b Marriage trend 1754-1830 - Annual percentage increase in numbers marrying.
4. Population size. Average population totals in each area recorded in the first four census enumerations 1801-31.
5. Population density. Population size (4) divided by Rickman's 1831 estimate of parish acreage. Persons per acre.
6. Population growth. The annual percentage population increase between 1801-31 in each area.
7. Fertility Index. Based on the 1821 age data in the census. Number of children under five / Number of women 15-40 X 1000.
8. Females 20-30. Based on 1821 age data. Percentage of all women in this group per area.
9. Males 20-30. Based on the 1821 age data. Perecentage of all males in this group per area.
10. Family size. Average total population 1801-31/ Average number of families 1801-31.
11. Non-agricultural employment. Average percentage of Heads of households (1811-31) in non agricultural employment.
12. Urban population. Average percentage of each area's population resident in parishes recognised as urban centres by Barfoot and Wilkes Directory of 1797.
13. Housing availability. Based on the percentage increase in the number of occupied dwellings (Annual average 1801-31)
14. Overcrowding. Based on the average number of inhabited houses/average number of families recorded in the censuses of 1801-31.

Table 2.5 Correlation matrix (Rs) of marriage data and selected demographic, economic and settlement variables in the hundreds and boroughs of Shropshire 1801-31

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Total marriages	-													
2. Marriage rates	0.6250	-												
3. Marriage trends	-0.1705	0.2058	-											
4. Population size	0.9938	0.4933	-0.1551	-										
5. Population density	0.2912	0.3044	-0.2765	0.3110	-									
6. Population growth	0.4294	0.5500	0.2350	0.4125	0.2176	-								
7. Fertility Index	0.5765	0.5147	0.4118	0.4257	-0.1941	0.5088	-							
8. Females 20-30	-0.2926	-0.1160	-0.0602	-0.2757	0.1779	0.1676	-0.3897	-						
9. Males 20-30	0.1529	0.0015	0.6130	-0.0713	0.7014	-0.0044	0.3720	-0.2088	-					
10. Family size	-0.2735	-0.2294	0.3647	0.0404	0.7794	0.2150	0.2150	-0.3985	0.4632	-				
11. Non. Agric. Employ.	0.2700	0.2300	-0.2800	0.2669	0.9294	0.3300	-0.1060	0.1779	-0.6721	-0.7900	-			
12. Urban population	0.3700	0.3160	-0.2360	0.3463	0.8265	0.4080	-0.1400	0.3279	-0.4956	-0.7310	0.8500	-		
13. Hsing. Availability	0.3620	0.4060	0.3150	0.1831	-0.0852	0.6440	0.7470	0.0074	0.0750	-0.0470	0.2560	0.1260	-	
14. Overcrowding	-0.0200	-0.2573	0.0323	-0.0360	0.4750	0.2900	0.0632	0.0000	0.2353	0.3780	0.5510	0.3040	0.3750	-

1. Total marriages: Based on PRA returns adjusted for areal compatability.
2. Marriage rates: Average marriage rates for the period 1791-1830, based on PRA listings of marriages in the decade prior to each census date, and the population specified in the Popl. Enumeration volumes of the census adjusted for compatability with the marriage data coverage. These are crude rates.
3. Marriage trends: The annual percentage increase in numbers of marriages 1801-31.
4. Population size: The average population data for each hundred and borough over the four censal periods.
5. Population density: The population total (Var. 4 above) divided by Rickman's estimate of parish acreages in the 1831 census.
6. Population growth: The annual percentage increase in population in each area between 1801-31.
7. Fertility Index: Based on 1821 age data in the census. Number of children under five / Number of women between 15-40 X 1000.
8. Females 20-30: Percentage in this age group from the 1821 census.
9. Males 20-30: ditto
10. Family size: Average total population 1801-31 / Numbers of families (Av 1801-1831).
11. Non-Agricultural Employment: Average percentage of Heads of households in non-agricultural employment 1811-31 census.
12. Urban population: Based on the Av. percentage of each area's total population resident in parishes recognised as urban centres by Barfoot and Wilkes 1797 during the period 1801-31.
13. Housing availability: Based on the Annual Average percentage increase in occupied dwellings in the period 1801-31.
14. Overcrowding: Based on the average number of inhabited houses / number of families recorded in the censuses 1801-31.

Note: All the variables have been adjusted to match those places making returns to Rickman in the PRA volumes for each successive census enumeration.

- Significant 0.05 CV.0.4250 n = 16.

and points to a close association between marriage and population variables. Marriage totals and rates are intercorrelated and significantly associated with population size, rates of population growth and the fertility index. They are also positively associated with the rate of housing increase, the proportion of the population in urban centres and the proportion in non-agricultural employment, though not significantly so.

The rate of growth in numbers marrying (Marriage trend) from 1801-31 does not match this pattern. It shows only one significant correlation and this probably arises because of data deficiencies. It is inversely associated with population size and density and very weakly associated with all other variables. This arises because of the modifications to the marriage trend ranking discussed earlier, where the reordering in the ranking for the complete period inevitably changes the relationship. Interestingly, there is little association between population density and any of three marriage variables at this scale of analysis, which suggests that the spatial availability of partners had little effect on level, rate or trend in marriages. The remaining part of the matrix indicates the intercorrelation of some of these variables.

This analysis indicates some support for a close relationship between demographic variables and marriage levels and rates, but only limited evidence of other social and economic factors <u>individually</u> exerting a tight control. Given the pattern of minimal association between the marriage trend and other variables and given the major reordering which occurred on this variable in the early decades of the nineteenth century, a second set of associations were examined relating the total marriages and marriage trend (1754-1830) to the nineteenth century variables. Table 2.6 presents these correlations. Marriage rates are based on the period 1791-1830 as in the previous Tables, and this confirms the nineteenth century pattern and allows the marriage trend to be integrated into the pattern of association.

Table 2.6 Correlation matrix (Rs) of marriage data 1754-1830 and selected demographic, economic and settlement variables in the hundreds and boroughs of Shropshire 1801-31

	Total marriages	Marriage rates	Marriage Trend
Total marriages	-		
Marriage rates	0.6250	-	
Marriage trend	0.5941	0.6544	-
Popl. size	0.9938	0.4933	0.5904
Popl. density	0.2912	0.3044	0.2970
Popl. growth	0.4294	0.5500	0.7911
Fertility Index	0.5765	0.5147	0.4558
Females 20-30	-0.2926	-0.1160	0.0690
Males 20-30	0.1529	0.0015	0.1529
Family size	-0.2735	-0.2294	-0.3400
Non. Ag. Empl.	0.2700	0.2300	0.3600
Urban popl.	0.3700	0.3160	0.4147
Housing	0.3620	0.4060	0.2970
Overcrowding	-0.0200	-0.2573	-0.0420

Note: Variables defined as on Table 2.4.

—— Significant 0.05 CV 0.05 = 0.4250 N = 16.

Marriage totals, rates and trends are now significantly associated. All in turn, also show significant associations with population size, growth and the fertility index, but again show little association with population density. The direction of association with the other socio-economic and settlement variables shows similarity between the marriage variables. Whether this isomorphism arises by chance, or whether it more accurately reflects the character of the relationship, is not clear. The marriage trends for the shorter period are very different from those characteristic prior to 1800 and those calculated for the total period (1754-1830). The population data recorded in the early decades of the nineteenth century, reflect marriages solemnised in the later years of the eighteenth, as much if not more, than those contracted contemporaneously with the enumeration of the population. This phasing of the record lends some credibility to the second set of associations, although the linkage is crude and the data are limited.

This analysis of Rickman's record of marriage in Shropshire hundreds and boroughs is useful on a number of counts. Firstly, it indicates that the magnitude and trend in marriage levels varied considerably in different parts of the county from 1754-1830 and that this overall trend showed temporal variation. Secondly, it is clear that, notwithstanding these temporal variations, marriage rates (1791-1830) were closely associated with the numbers of marriages and also with the rates at which they were increasing, and that these too showed regional variation. Thirdly, the correlation matrix suggests that marriage characteristics were significantly associated with demographic variables and also loosely associated with various social, economic and settlement characteristics. The marriage record, as a surrogate of household formation, may also be seen, therefore, as a surrogate for the course of population growth and prosperity in the absence of any precise population enumeration (Brown 1978).

The incidence and probability of marriage, and the rate of growth in numbers marrying are positively related to the fertility index, large family size, higher proportions in non-agricultural employment and urban parishes, areas where housing was increasing rapidly and where the number of families per dwelling was low. These associations, while not statistically significant, confirm the causal linkages implied in the discussion in Chapter One and provide a limited explanatory frame of reference in which to consider marriage and mobility. Such conclusions must be tempered by the limitations of the data and are presented cautiously, as a context rather than a complete explanation. They do, however, allow a more substantive understanding of the forces at work and of the variation within Shropshire hundreds and boroughs, which has greatly aided the selection of sample local registers.

III : The sample framework

Rickman's national data provide a broad temporal picture of the pattern of change in marriage in the West Midland region and within Shropshire. They have numerous limitations and to increase the accuracy and make the scale of analysis more appropriate, it is necessary to collect data from local registers to obtain both precise figures and the details of extraparochial association accompanying marriage. As it is the pattern of mobility accompanying marriage which is of specific interest in this enquiry, the local registers form the central data set. These are preferred to either Bishops Transcripts of the registers, or to Marriage Allegations and Bonds, for a number of reasons.

1. They are a 'first hand' record and involve no transcription.

2. They document place-specific details of marriage solemnisations (i.e. they record the marriages that occurred in a parish and the place of solemnisation does not have to be inferred).

3. They include marriages authorised by both licence and banns and are therefore representative of both procedures.

Any enquiry utilising parish register data is frequently frustrated by the quality of the source material. Poor registration of events, incomplete records and the unreliability of incumbents all operate against comprehensive temporal or spatial coverage. The small size of many parish populations inevitably means low annual frequencies of events and this makes interpretation of their records difficult. These problems have led to the following suggestions

1. that individual parishes should have in excess of ten events per year or a minimum of 100 per decade (E.A. Wrigley 1966b pp 269-71: Drake M. 1974 p 47).
2. that failing this, data should be aggregated for groups of parishes forming one of the following:
   a) A discrete geographical unit (Chambers 1957)
   b) A traditional administrative unit (Maltby 1971)
   c) A functional socio-economic unit (Sogner 1963)
3. that areas with large numbers of non-conformists should be avoided - this is less critical in marriage studies as only Quakers and Jews were exempt under Hardwicke's Marriage Act.

This broad framework is useful, but it was designed primarily for studies concentrating on baptisms and burial records. The annual totals are less appropriate for marriage, where fewer events would limit the number of available parishes to those with large populations. It effectively prevents, if adhered to, any disaggregation of parish groups to units of less than 1000 population, and as a result precludes any analysis of the bulk of English rural communities during the eighteenth century. Whilst acknowledging the Cambridge Group's efforts in coordinating approaches to the study of register material, a combination of their criteria and a

more flexible approach seems justified in this study. Consequently, two separate data sets have been collected for Shropshire. First, the marriage records of five hundreds and boroughs in south Shropshire have been examined and secondly, a sample of parishes drawn from all rural parishes in the county has been considered. The latter provides a perspective on the first sample and gives a fuller impression of the pattern of marriage linkage throughout the county.

(i) The hundreds and boroughs

The first sample was chosen to meet CAMPOP's requirements. It has involved reconstructing the record for each hundred and borough from the Mss and transcribed registers of their constituent parishes. The choice of these hundreds and boroughs, three in upland Shropshire (Ludlow, Wenlock and Munslow) and two stretching from the Severn lowlands to the fringes of the south Shropshire hill country (Ford and Condover), was partly determined because another investigator had already worked on the hundreds north of the Severn, albeit on a slightly different problem (R.E. Jones 1973). It was also influenced by the character of the areas themselves, which do offer parishes in contrasting settings, and it is these contrasts which should be given more emphasis.

In physical terms, the five hundreds form a contiguous territory stretching from the Severn Lowlands, across the scarp and vale topography of south Shropshire to the valley of the Teme and the Clee Hills (Figure 2.4). Indirectly therefore any constraints imposed by relief on patterns of mobility associated with marriage may well emerge in their records. There are also differences among the five selected areas in economic structure and population size which may affect levels of mobility and the diversity of extraparochial origins.

Ludlow (population 4150 in 1811) was a discrete urban area, a focus for its surrounding hinterland, a market town with an employment structure which was predominantly in service, craft, and trading categories. Wenlock

Figure 2.4 The location of the five sample hundreds and boroughs.

(Population 16805 in 1811) was a large mixed economy borough, comprising market towns, industrial and agrarian parishes. Ford (Population 6193) and Condover (Population 5582) both included lowland parishes that were predominantly agricultural, though with some small-scale localised mineral workings. Munslow (Population 9370) was a large hundred in area, covering the Shropshire dales and its economic structure was comparable with that of the two lowland hundreds. This variety is an important element in understanding the records of marriage in these areas (Table 2.4).

This is borne out in the earlier analysis of Rickman's tabulations, which provide a context for evaluating the marriage trends in these areas. From 1754-1830, Munslow showed a rate of growth in numbers marrying slightly below the English average and well above that for Shropshire. Ludlow and Wenlock lay just below the county average, while Ford and Condover showed declining trends. They therefore covered a variety of marital trends. For the shorter period for which local data have been abstracted (1754-1810) the relative performances of these areas and their rates of growth change, as a result of the removal of what were, for many years, years of increasing marriage levels (1811-30).

In the shorter period contrasts are evident. Figure 2.5 illustrates the rates computed from Rickman's PRA data and from the surviving re-aggregated registers, with the latter potentially most accurate (Edwards 1976b). The county rate remains at 0.7 per cent per annum (PRA data), and is exceeded by the borough of Wenlock, as might be expected in an area that was then experiencing industrial development. Munslow's rate is lower than the county average, Ludlow's is also much lower, but remains positive, while both Condover and Ford show far steeper rates of overall decline. As the series indicate, these are general trends and from the 1790s onwards increasing annual marriage totals are evident in most areas.

Considerable variation exists in the numbers of parishes making up each of these administrative units. Ludlow only includes the record of the

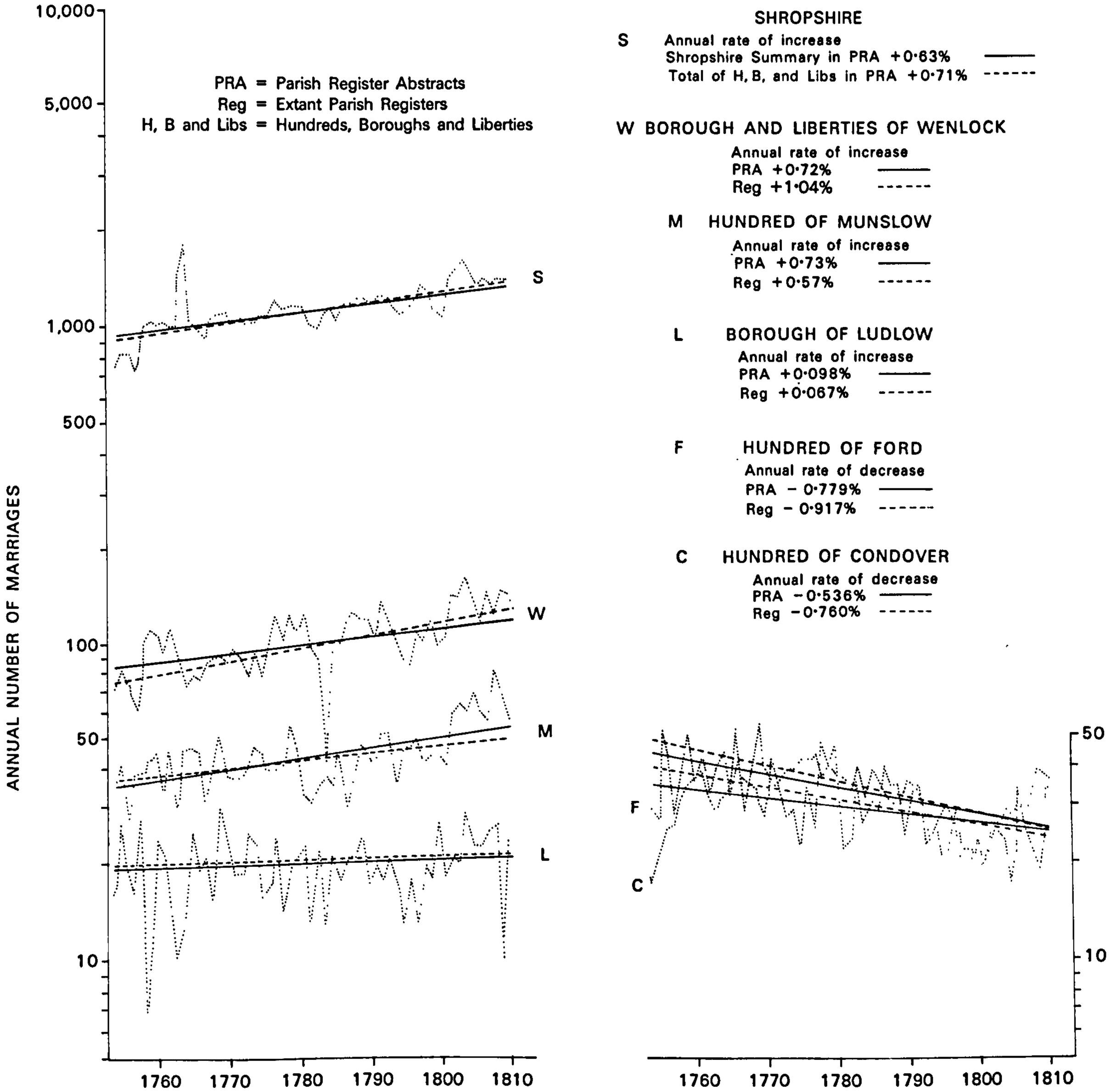


Figure 2.5 A comparison of the marriage trends in the sample hundreds and boroughs recorded in the registers and in the Parish Register Abstracts.

parish of St. Lawrence, Ford involves the registers of six parishes, Condover and Wenlock cover fifteen and sixteen parishes respectively, while Munslow incorporates twenty two parishes (Appendix I). This variation in part accounts for Rickman's arithmetic errors and the slight contrast in the annual record of events shown in Figure 2.5. It also provides interesting internal variety within each hundred and borough, where the mix of large and small parishes (population size) and their varying densities contribute to the distinctive marriage patterns in each area.

These 60 parishes represent approximately 29 per cent of all parishes in the county and contain 22 per cent of Shropshire's population. The variation in parish population size at the end of the study period (1811) is shown in Figure 2.6 and, while not directly representative of the comparable distribution for the county as a whole (Figure 2.7), most size categories occur within the five areas. The two lowland hundreds of Ford and Condover cover 21 per cent of all parishes below 122 metres (400 ft.), and include 11 per cent of the lowland area's population. The other three areas, in the upland zone, cover 36 per cent of all parishes within that zone and include 35 per cent of its population. As the sample provided by these parishes is not wholly representative of the county, but only of areas in the south, a second sample of register data has been abstracted from the Shropshire Archives to give a less biased impression of marriage levels and mobility in the county.

(ii) Individual parish records

By dealing with a contiguous area the sample registers covering the five hundreds and boroughs does manage to capture the majority of inter-parish linkages, providing the bulk of marriages are contracted between local partners. The data they provide however may be unrepresentative of the wider county. To offset this difficulty, a further sample of individual registers from parishes throughout the county has been examined. This second sample, lacking the contiguity constraint, records in

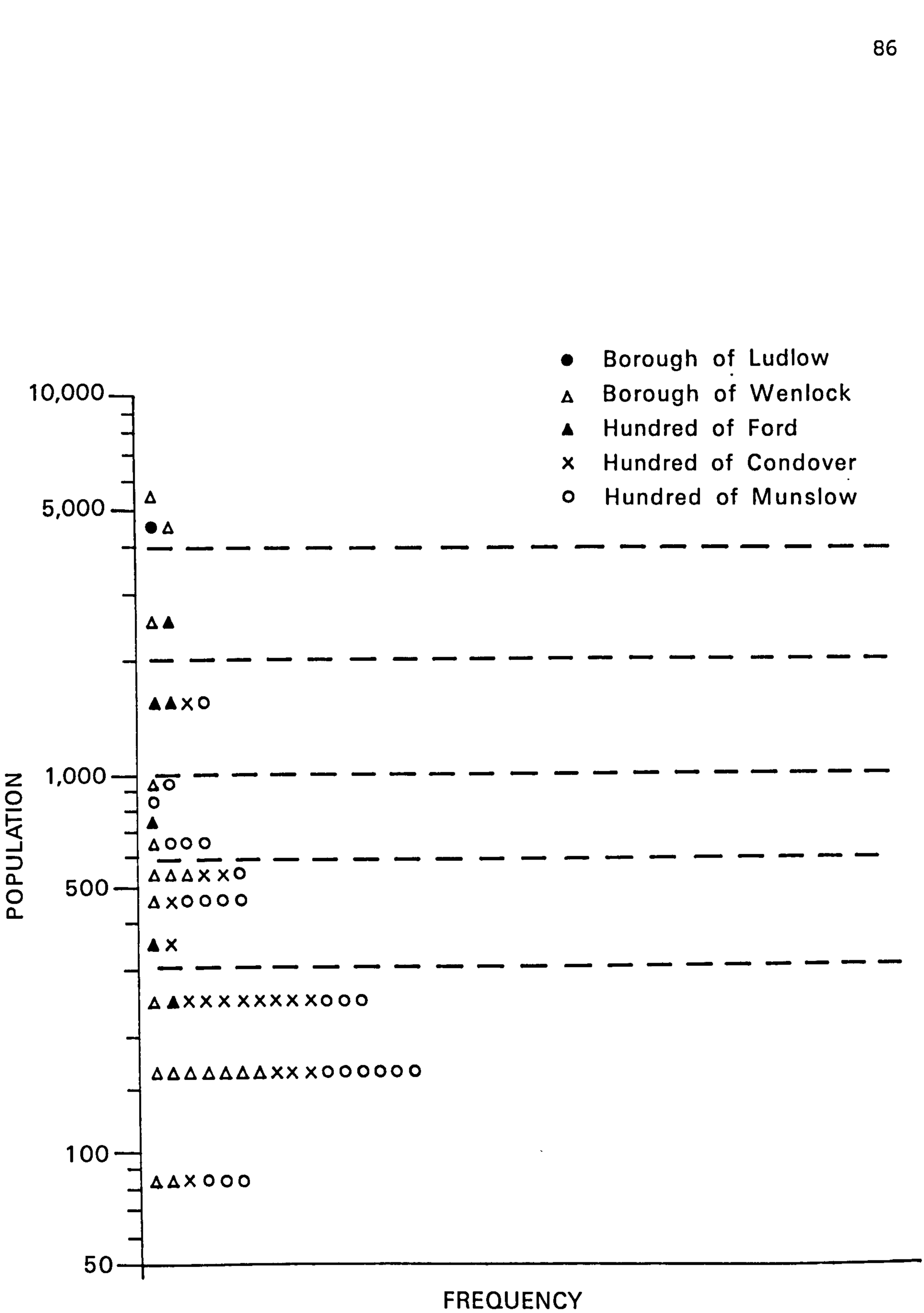


Figure 2.6 The distribution of parish populations in the five hundreds and boroughs in 1811.

isolation, the moves of marriage partners into individual parishes. It gives no indication of where individuals from those parishes went to marry, but it does allow general comparisons to be made.

Various possibilities existed as a basis for stratifying this county sample. The sample could have been stratified by administrative area, by physical relief region, by location relative to urban centres, by parish extent, population size and density, by economic structure or simply by geographical location. Given the influences of population numbers in the PRA analysis, it was decided to use this criterion of population size, incorporating where possible density, along with a broad regionalisation on the basis of relief, as this latter factor may well have affected levels of accessibility. With these as the prime controls in the selection of parishes attempts were also made to hold economy constant by selecting parishes dominated by agricultural employment, and to provide a representative coverage of the county in geographical terms. Where possible contiguous parishes and parishes at approximately comparable distances from urban centres were selected. These criteria were not always met, as the ultimate constraint was the availability of adequate data.

The lack of population listings prior to 1801 necessitated a stratification based on nineteenth rather than eighteenth century data (Law 1969). It seemed reasonable to assume that while population levels must have changed during the period under consideration (1754-1810), the overall size grouping of parish populations shown by the early nineteenth century census was reasonably consistent with that which prevailed earlier. The census of 1811 was chosen as the basis for this stratification primarily because it coincided with the end of the marriage data run fixed by Rose's Marriage Act of 1812 and also because it may well be marginally more accurate than the one which preceded it.

The procedure adopted to select the sample parishes was to produce a scatter diagram of the 233 places making PRA returns to Rickman in

1811, thus allowing some limited comparison with his records, and to use this as the sampling framework. Figure 2.7 presents these data for 227 parishes (six places are omitted for though they made returns to Rickman they were chapelries whose population data were recorded along with that of the mother parish) and a clear gradation of parish population size is evident. From the diagram it is possible to distinguish parishes lying above and below the 122 m (400 ft.) contour which was selected as the basis for dividing upland and lowland regions. The choice of this divide has the advantage that it breaks the county into discrete and sensible regions, apart from a group of parishes in the Teme valley near Ludlow, which lie on lower ground within the upland block. This anomalous group has been included, for the purposes of sampling, within the upland zone, because of isolation from the main lowland areas of the north and east and because of its functional links with the surrounding Shropshire hill country.

The distribution in Figure 2.7 indicates the variability of parish population sizes and something of their natural grouping. Parishes from both upland and lowland zones are found throughout the size distribution in fairly equal proportions and no one area dominates a particular demographic category. It is however noticeable that the lowland area has a relatively larger number of parishes above a population threshold of 300 and slightly fewer numerically in the lowest size category.

The twelve towns lying above the 4000 population divide have been omitted from this analysis. Three of them, Ludlow, Madeley and Broseley are included in the analysis of hundredsand boroughs and it seemed unnecessary to explore this urban theme further. Consequently, the sample which was eventually chosen was drawn from the remaining 215 parishes. These cover a spectrum from the small urban centre to the rural parish, which included in 1811 58.1 per cent of the population of the county. These parishes were divided into broad population size categories prior to the selection of the sample. The divides are shown on Figure 2.7 and were

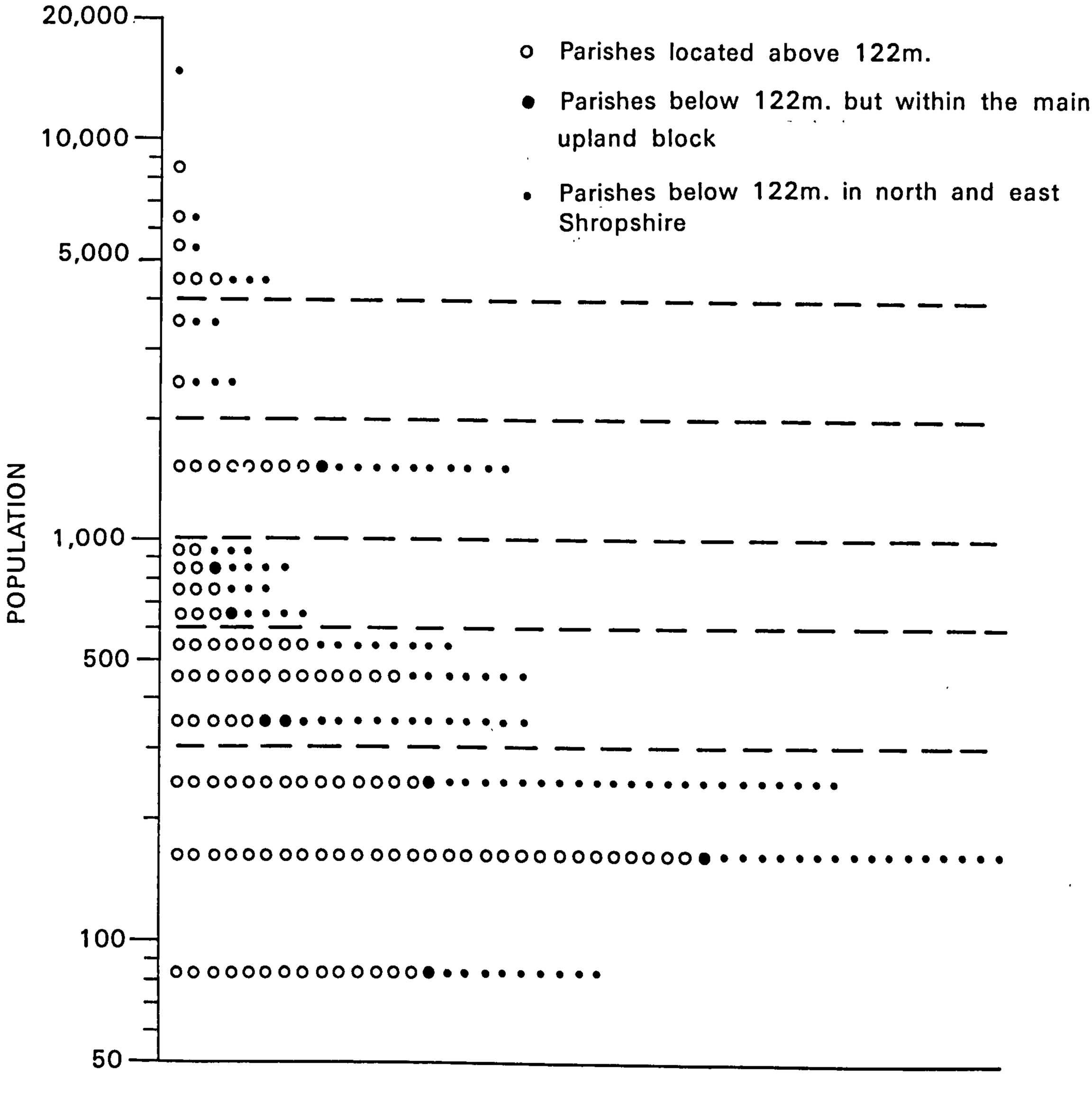


Figure 2.7 The distribution of parish populations in Shropshire in 1811.

arrived at on the basis of the natural grouping present in the data and from the literature on the general characteristics of rural parishes.

The critical divides of 300 and 600 population size identified by Mills (1969) and Holderness (1972) were taken as the breakpoints in the lower part of the dispersion. The distribution above 600 population has been divided according to its natural grouping into three categories, and these must be recognised as arbitrary. This procedure seemed preferable to one based solely on statistical divides (quartiles, deciles) as it does incorporate earlier findings and suits the Shropshire data.

Table 2.7 presents the division of these parishes between the five groupings and indicates which sample parishes were selected. A ten per cent sample for both upland and lowland regions was taken, i.e. twelve parishes in the former (10.8 per cent of all parishes below 4000) and eleven parishes in the latter (10.6 per cent of all parishes below 4000). These were stratified according to the frequency distribution, representing, in the lowest four classes, an approximate ten per cent sample by zone, but in the largest size category the small number of cases made the sampling proportions larger. Overall for the county this yields a sample of comparable proportions to that of the sub-areas.

This sample is a good representation of the county parish-size distribution, but it inevitably represents varying proportions of the total county population. This variation is specified in Table 2.7 and comparisons can be made between the two relief areas. The actual parishes selected are shown in Figure 2.8 which indicates that a fairly wide spatial coverage has been achieved. It could be argued too, that the records of parishes in each size category are comparably representative of all parishes in those size groupings. As in many cases, generalisations at this scale are based on the records of one parish per relief zone, analysis in these terms must be treated warily. Nonetheless, if population size is critical to marriage habits, some comments on the variations in places

Table 2.7 The sampling framework: Parish population distribution by relief zone in Shropshire in 1811

Population size category		FREQUENCY: upland zone >122 m OD No	%	lowland zone <122 m OD No	%	Total No	%	TOTAL COUNTY DISTRIBUTION: upland No	% of total	% of sub total	POPULATION: lowland No	% of total	% of sub total	Total No	% of total	% of sub total
Urban	+4000	6	5.1	6	5.1	12	5.3	33323	17.4	-	46711	24.4	-	80034	41.9	-
Group I	2000-3999	2	1.7	5	4.6	7	3.1	5109	2.6	4.6	13804	7.2	12.4	18913	9.9	17.0
II	1000-1999	9	7.7	10	9.1	19	8.4	15135	7.9	13.6	14656	7.7	13.2	29791	15.6	26.8
III	600-999	12	10.3	14	12.7	26	11.5	8348	4.4	7.5	11327	5.9	10.2	19675	10.3	17.7
IV	300-599	28	23.9	28	25.5	56	24.7	12981	6.8	11.7	12746	6.7	11.5	25727	13.5	23.2
V	-299	60	51.3	47	42.7	107	47.1	9110	4.8	8.2	7911	4.1	7.1	17021	8.9	15.3
TOTAL		117		110		227		84006	43.9		107155	56.1		191161**		
Sub total - Urban		111		104		215		50683	45.6		60444	54.4		111127		

SAMPLING DISTRIBUTION (omitting urban parishes)

		upland		lowland		Total		upland	% Popl. in class	lowland	% Popl. in class	Total	% Popl. in class
Group I	2000-3999	1	50.0	2	40	3	42.8	2079	40.7	5474	39.7	7553	39.9
II	1000-1999	1	11.1	1	10	2	10.5	1103	7.3	1795	12.3	2898	9.7
III	600-999	1	8.3	1	7.1	2	11.5	944	11.3	758	6.7	1702	8.7
IV	300-599	3	10.7	3	10.7	6	10.7	1520	11.7	1521	11.9	3041	11.8
V	-300	6	10	4	8.5	10	9.4	1024	11.2	750	9.5	1774	10.4
TOTAL		12	10.8	11	10.6	23	10.7	6670	13.2	10298	17.0	16968	15.3

Notes: **The census of 1811 lists 194298 total popl. for Shropshire including 1961 local militia men; if these are subtracted from the total the difference between the census and these figures is 1176, a gap attributed to incomplete coverage by Rickman in the PRA.

Upland sample: Gp. I: Much Wenlock; Gp. II: Bitterley; Gp. III: Church Stretton; Gp. IV: Hopesay, Kinlet and Clungunford; Gp. V: More, Edgton, Abdon, Habberley, Hope Bowdler and Sidbury.

Lowland sample: Gp. I: Wem and Pontesbury; Gp. II: High Ercall; Gp. III: Ruyton XI Towns; Gp. IV: Wroxeter, Montford and Tong; Gp. V: Bolas Magna, Uffingham, Uppington and Hordley.

Source: PRA and PE Vols. 1811 Census.

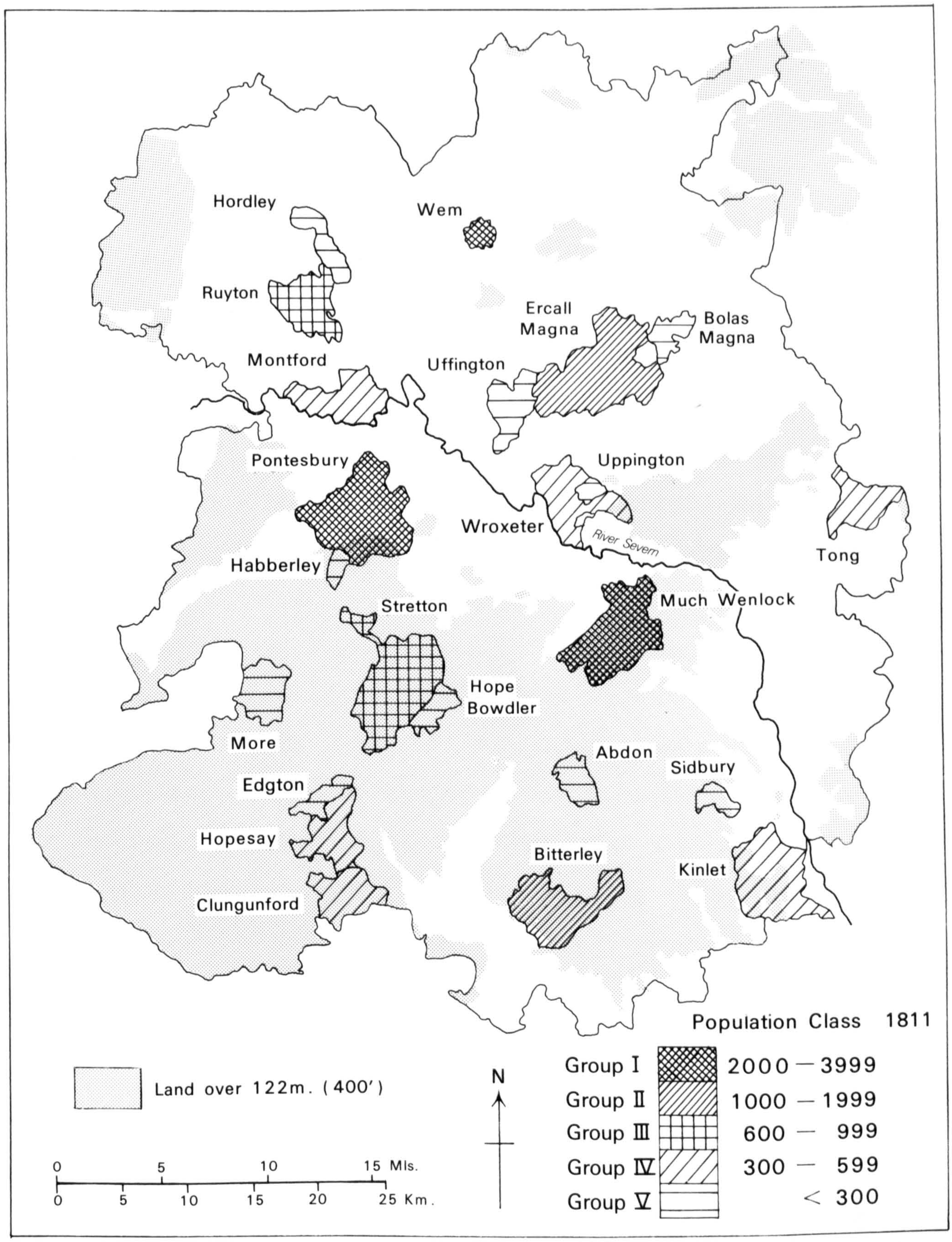


Figure 2.8 The location of the sample of individual parishes representative of rural Shropshire.

of contrasting rank seem worthwhile, provided that the above caveat is recognised.

An attempt was made to control variation on certain other criteria and this has been achieved to some extent. It is difficult to establish population density figures for the eighteenth century as neither centrally collected population statistics, nor accurate acreage figures exist. Densities for the 23 parishes were computed (using 1811 population data/ 1961 adjusted acreage) and these serve as approximate measures. In both the upland and lowland sub sample, parish acreage increases as population increases (U. Rs $\stackrel{2}{=}$ +0.9160 L. = + 0.8454 S 0.01); population density in lowland parishes increases as population increases (Rs = +0.7818 S 0.01), but such isomorphism does not occur in the upland sample where density is not significantly correlated with population size (Rs = + 0.3496). For the sample as a whole, population density and rank do correlate (Rs = 0.5049 CV 0.01 = 0.4965). Certain differences emerge therefore between the two sub samples. The range of population densities is broadly comparable in the two samples with the lowland (10.10-56.70 person per sq. km.) slightly larger than that of the upland parishes (15.80-59.93 persons per sq. km.). The densities recorded <u>within</u> each population category are of comparable orders of magnitude, the most marked contrast <u>between</u> these categories occurring between Group I (57.4) and II (40.1) and the other three groups (28.1 persons/sq. km.).

Occupation structure in the 23 parishes was established from the 1811 census and with two notable exceptions, over 50 per cent of all heads of households were employed in agricultural occupations. The two exceptions, Ruyton (16.8) and Uffington (24.2) both lie in north Shropshire and were included notwithstanding their non-agricultural emphasis, because of their registers and relative positions.

The sample which has been produced is fundamentally based on population size stratified in accordance with the county size distribution and by

relief zones. In addition, an attempt has been made to ensure comparable densities and employment structures between upland and lowland so that a reasonable comparison may be made of essentially similar communities. Population size has been taken as the key criterion, partly because of earlier findings using PRA material and partly because it seems likely to influence marriage patterns in a number of ways. Parishes with small populations were often estate controlled and newcomers were not welcome but at the same time, the small numbers produced a need for outside partners to sustain marriage rates. Parishes with large populations had less need for extraparochial marriage partners, but were also likely to attract in-migrants who would then appear in the local marriage register. The patterns are further likely to be modified by proximity to the nearest urban centre and an attempt has also been made to control for this in the selection procedure. This allows the annual numbers of marriages, the proportions of extraparochial partners and the areal extent of marriage fields to be examined in a firm structural context.

As a check on the appropriateness of the use of the 1811 population ranking as the key criterion, the correlation between population rank of the parishes and the number of marriages recorded in their registers (1754-1810) was computed. The two rank orders are significantly correlated (Rs = +0.9842 S 0.01 CV 0.4965), and are equally associated in both lowland (Rs = +0.8727 S 0.01) and upland (Rs = +0.9370 S 0.01) zones. This does confirm the view that while the surrogate variables are inappropriate as absolute population rankings for the early part of the period, they are appropriate in a relative sense and rank the parishes in a manner that is effectively identical to that which appertained during the eighteenth century. This second sample of individual communities serves as a useful adjunct to the areal sample of hundreds and boroughs.

Two separate samples are used therefore in subsequent chapters to provide a perspective on marriage and mobility from 1754-1810 in the

county of Shropshire. For each of the parishes in these samples information has been abstracted from the Mss and transcribed marriage registers available in the Shropshire Record Office. The nature of the data available in such registers has already been discussed in Chapter One and its incomplete character been noted. It has been possible to abstract for all parishes, details of the annual number of marriages, the annual frequency and parish of origin of extraparochial partners and to calculate the number of wholly parochial marriages. Where additional material has been available this has been recorded and is used to provide a fuller context for the temporal and spatial data for sub-samples within the total data set. It is this material which forms the basis of the subsequent analysis.

Chapter 3 Temporal trends and the supply of and demand for marriage partners

Historical geographers are inevitably concerned with the extent of population mobility in the past, for such mobility documents, in part, the changes which occurred in the broader space-economy. Attention has concentrated on the magnitude and direction of mobility during specific time periods and these transects have frequently been related serially to produce a longer term view of the overall pattern of change. Such sequences do provide insights into the character of spatial interaction for different periods of time, but rarely is such evidence presented for continuous time series, and all too often they occur as formal descriptions of the system, devoid of context, and in parallel to the main focus of enquiry.

Movement may be considered as an adaptive response, clearly related to the circumstances of individual communities, usually prompted by economic or social needs (Wolpert 1965) and saying much about the ecological balance in the study community. Haggett (1977) views it as the point of entry into the integrated system : defining it and monitoring the relative performance of individual nodes. Marriage can be viewed in this light and the Anglican Marriage data provide a continuous series of locational adjustments, responsive to local and regional forces, reflecting the relative supply of and demand for partners in the parish. This chapter views it as such and concentrates on the temporal trends in the marriage record of the sample parishes and, for want of a better term, on their marital ecology.

By so doing, a fuller understanding is gained of overall marriage frequencies and their variation in different settings. It becomes possible to comment on regional and local variations in parishes of varying rank and economy within the settlement hierarchy. It also allows a

perspective to be gained on the relative importance of exogamy within the total marriage record in the latter half of the eighteenth century and how this level of exogamy reflects or responds to the demography of the local community. Such insights are fundamental if the subsequent discussion of marriage horizons is to be seen in its correct context. The emphasis in this chapter is specifically placed on temporal variations in annual marriage levels and the way these reflect and respond to various structural controls (locational, economic and demographic).

I : Temporal trends in marriage

Reference has already been made to the temporal trends of marriage registration documented in the PRAs for the constituent hundreds and boroughs of the county of Shropshire. The record in the PRAs indicates that the county marriage trends rose until 1770, dropped slightly, then increased slowly to 1800, accelerating in the final decade and into the nineteenth century. This gives an incremental increase, for both the period to 1810 and that to 1830, of 0.7 per cent per annum. Individual hundreds show considerable variation around this trend as Chapter Two illustrates. Some comment has already been made on the marriage trends of the five selected in this study, but it is useful to reconsider their records alongside those taken from individual parishes.

Table 3.1 documents the level of marriage in each of the samples from 1754-1810. These decadal frequencies are presented as continuous time series in Figures 3.1-3.3, and the diagrams and Table include a disaggregation of the hundreds and boroughs (regional sample) into the trends for the parish population size groups which make them up. This facilitates comparison between the regional sample and the sample of individual parish records. The population criterion on which this grouping is based has been discussed in Chapter Two and is also shown on the key;

Table 3.1 Marriage trends : all marriages in the sample parishes 1754-1810

	1754-60	1761-70	1771-80	1781-90	1791-1800	1801-10	Total
Hundreds and Boroughs (Regional Sample)							
Wenlock	571(82)	830	922	1018	1023	1286	5650
Munslow	335(48)	486	512	531	542	521	2927
Ludlow	155(22)	205	196	193	184	228	1167
Condover	184(26)	332	346	295	251	219	1627
Ford	258(37)	413	417	353	245	292	1978
Parish size structure (1811)							
Urban ps.	462(66)	630	647	757	696	960	4152
Gp I	242(25)	388	431	363	255	283	1962
Gp II	167(24)	250	273	228	214	244	1376
Gp III	293(42)	426	455	397	437	463	2471
Gp IV	150(21)	281	301	321	357	348	1758
Gp V	189(27)	291	286	324	286	248	1624
Total 60 ps	1503(215)	2266	2393	2390	2245	2546	13343
10% Sample Rural Shropshire							
Gp I Lowland	190(27)	303	326	296	257	253	1625
Upland	89(13)	130	168	137	100	115	739
Total	279(40)	433	494	433	357	368	2364
Gp II Lowland	74(11)	122	119	114	102	106	637
Upland	31(4)	65	64	52	61	69	333
Total	105(15)	187	183	166	163	166	970
Gp III Lowland	38(5)	51	40	47	60	24	260
Upland	41(6)	66	53	43	34	43	280
Total	79(11)	117	93	90	94	67	540
Gp IV Lowland	47(7)	73	97	81	53	71	422
Upland	48(7)	86	103	72	81	73	463
Total	94(14)	159	200	153	134	144	855
Gp V Lowland	33(5)	51	52	44	44	43	257
Upland	33(5)	54	68	67	56	48	326
Total	66(10)	105	120	111	100	91	593
II Lowland ps	382(54)	600	634	582	516	497	3211
12 Upland ps	242(34)	401	456	371	332	339	2141
Total Sample	624(88)	1001	1090	953	848	836	5352

Note: Source: Mss and transcribed registers of Shropshire parishes in SRO.

Figures in brackets (1754-1760) give the number of marriages/yr., which may be compared to the subsequent decadal totals which are readily adjusted.

Key: Population 1811: Urban ps >4000 : I = 2000-3999 : II 1000-1999 : III 600-999 : IV 300-599 : V <299.

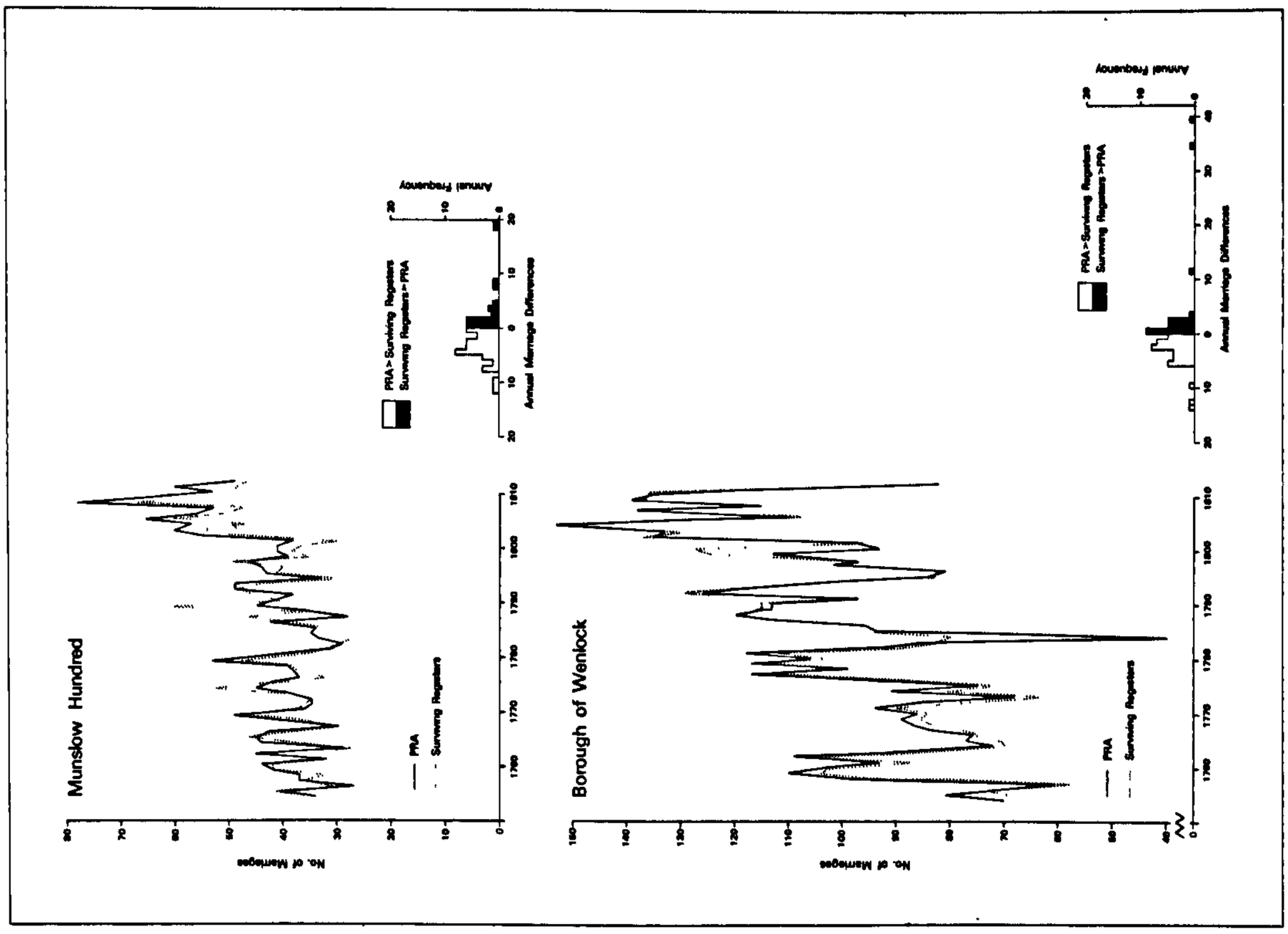


Figure 3.1 Annual numbers of marriages in the five hundreds and boroughs 1754-1810.

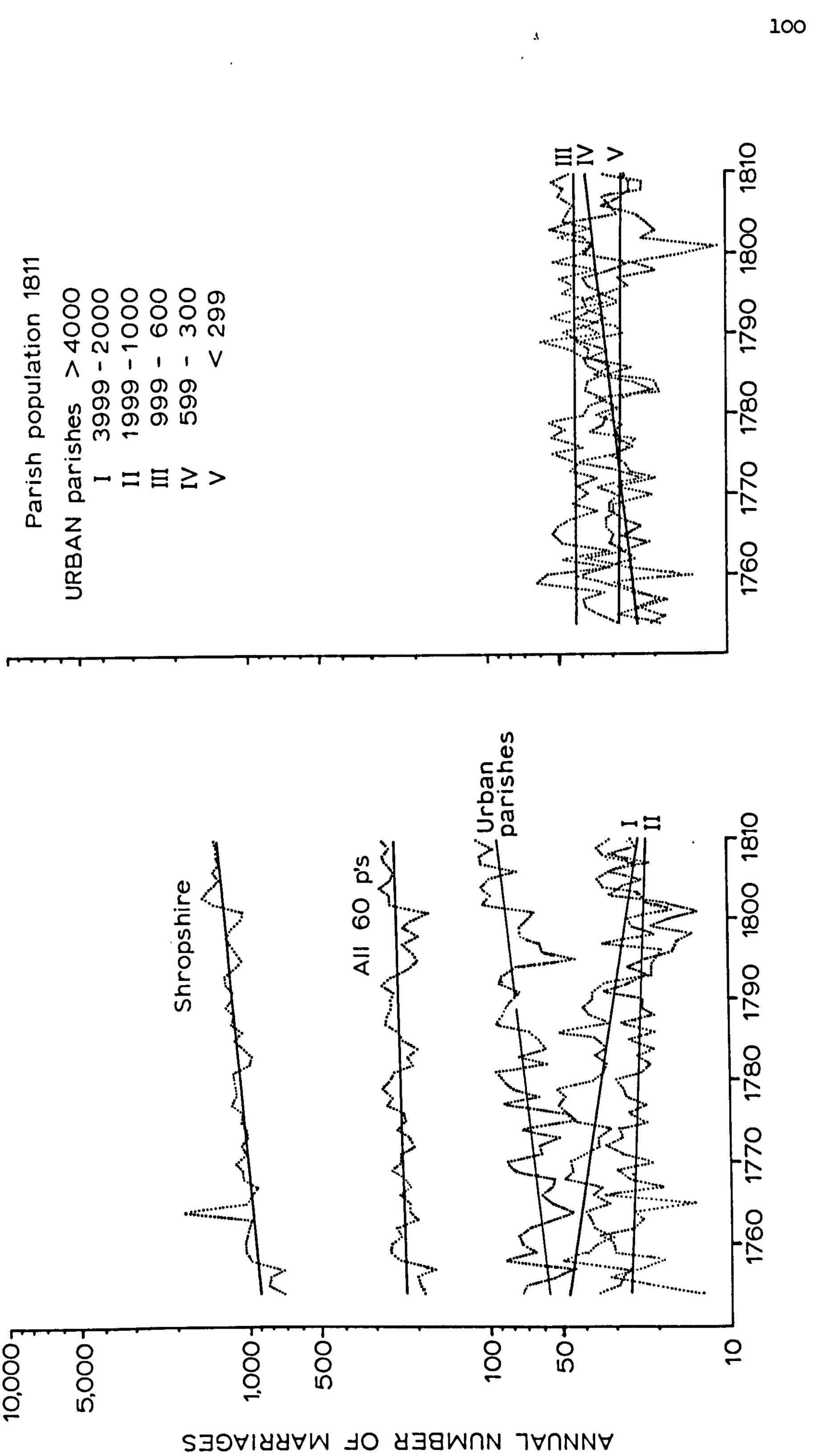


Figure 3.2 Annual numbers of marriages in the constituent parishes of the five hundreds and boroughs 1754-1810.

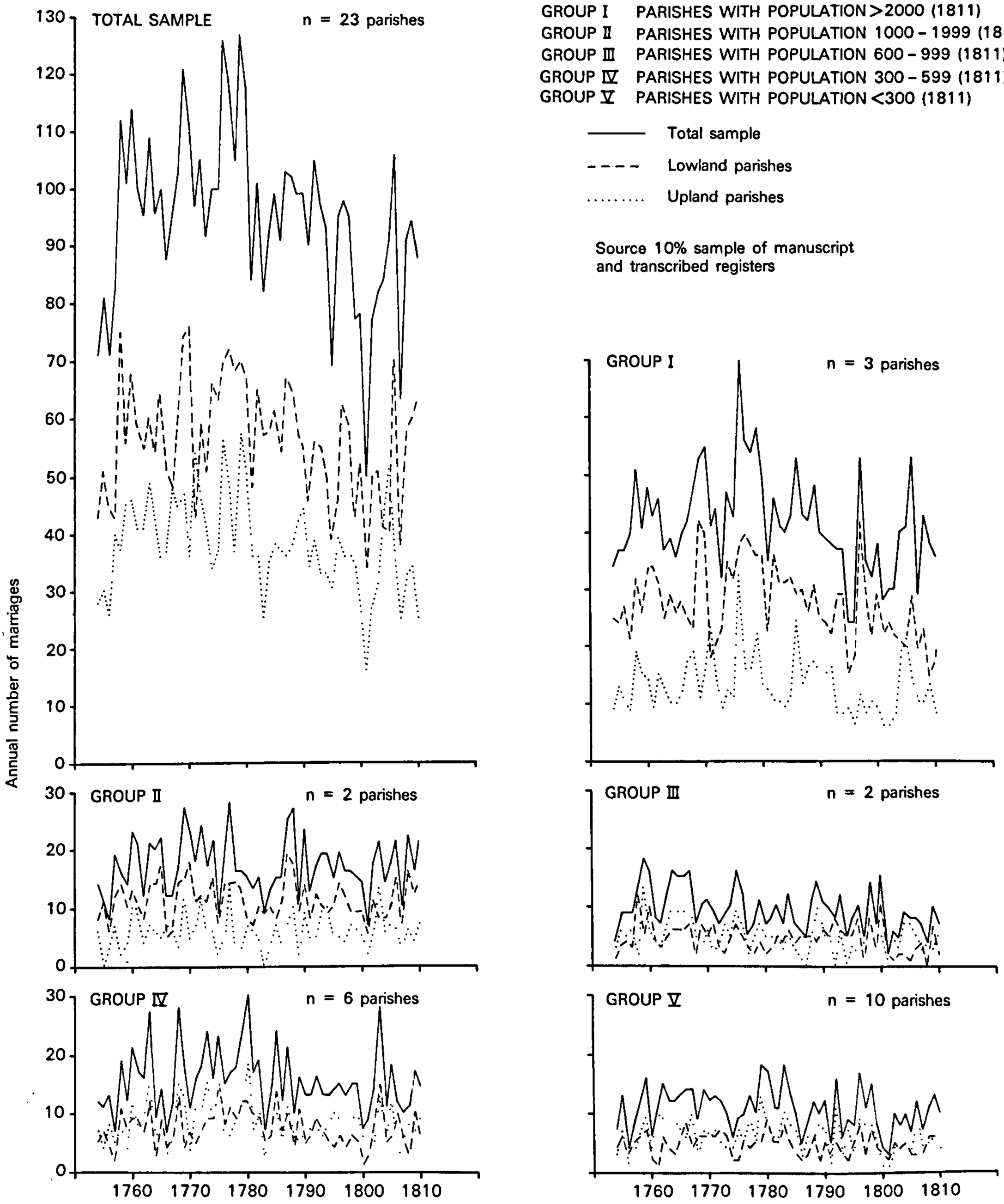


Figure 3.3 Annual numbers of marriages in the rural Shropshire sample.

henceforth in discussion of these trends the groupings will be referred to by their reference number.

In the five hundreds and boroughs, it is clear that only in Wenlock was marriage frequency increasing steadily during the period. A slower rate of increase was experienced in Munslow, while Ludlow effectively exhibited a stable record. Ford and Condover both show rising marriage levels until 1780 followed by a progressive fall in annual frequencies, which only increase in the final decade. The aggregate trend for all five areas is highly comparable to the Shropshire record, but this disguises marked regional variation. In part this variation may be attributed to contrasts between their economies. In 1811, it is evident that contrasting proportions of the population of each administrative area were engaged in agriculture (Ludlow 1.2%: Wenlock 23.7%: Condover 66.9%: Ford 63.7% and Munslow 74.1%), and it is useful to see these areas as arranged along an employment spectrum. This broad categorisation disguises a more complex pattern within each area and the regions are far from homogeneous in character. Internal variation exists not only in economic terms, but also in the mix of parishes of contrasting population size and this contributes to regional contrasts.

The size of this contribution may be judged from Figure 3.2, where contrasting marriage frequencies are evident in each parish size grouping. Urban parishes show a continuous increase in decadal frequencies, except for a slight drop 1790-1800. Group I parishes rise until 1780, then fall and rise again after 1800, but to a level much lower than their peak period. Parishes in Groups II and III exhibit stable trends, while the groups covering the smallest parishes show greater oscillation, with IV exhibiting a rising profile and V tending to decline. Table 3.2 illustrates the distribution of parishes between the hundreds and boroughs, and the potential influence that they may exert on respective trends is clear.

Table 3.2 Distribution of parish populations between hundreds and boroughs (percentages in brackets)

Popl. 1811	Ludlow	Wenlock	Munslow	Condover	Ford	Total
Urban	1(100)	2(13)				3
I		1(6)			2(33)	3
II			1(5)	1(7)	1(17)	3
III		2(13)	6(27)	2(13)		10
IV		4(25)	4(18)	2(13)	1(17)	11
V		7(43)	11(50)	10(67)	2(33)	30
T	1(100)	16(100)	22(100)	15(100)	6(100)	60

At this stage, this theme need not be elaborated. What is clear is that regional marriage levels varied and so did the marriage frequencies in places of contrasting demographic rank. The marked variations in the timing of these changes also deserves note.

Comparable temporal variations are present in the sample drawn from individual parishes in rural Shropshire (Figure 3.3). Three separate phases are apparent in the aggregate series. From 1754-1780, higher levels of marriage are characteristic: between 1781-1800, there is a drop in annual totals, followed by a rapid increase in numbers marrying in certain years from 1801-10, but still at levels well below those prevailing in the period from 1761-1780. Comparable trends are evident in both upland and lowland sub samples and all demographic parish rankings, though there is naturally some variation between parishes which is lost in these aggregations. Such individual variation is slight and the overall impression is of a common marriage history reflected in most parishes.

The common periodicities experienced by both the regional sample and rural parish records are difficult to relate in other than descriptive terms. Table 3.3 provides a statement of the relative annual rates of change in each sample and a clearer impression is gained of areas and parishes where marriage levels were increasing faster than average.

Table 3.3 Average annual rates of change in numbers of marriages 1754-1810 in the sample parishes (percentage/year)

HUNDREDS AND BOROUGHS (REGIONAL SAMPLE)				RURAL 10% SAMPLE	
By administrative unit		By constituent parishes		By constituent parishes	
1. Borough of Wenlock	1.04	1. Group IV	0.96		
		2. Urban ps	0.80		
SHROPSHIRE (PRA)	0.71			SHROPSHIRE (PRA)	0.71
2. Munslow hundred	0.57				
TOTAL 60 PARISHES	0.20	TOTAL 60 Ps	0.20		
3. Borough of Ludlow	0.06			1. Group II	0.06
		3. Group III	0.04		
		4. Group V	0.03	2. Group V	-0.02
				LOWLAND PARISHES	-0.25
				3. Group I	-0.28
				TOTAL SAMPLE	-0.31
		5. Group II	-0.36	4. Group IV	-0.36
				UPLAND PARISHES	-0.39
				5. Group III	-0.66
4. Condover hundred	-0.76				
		6. Group I	-0.80		
5. Ford hundred	-0.91				

Source: Based on the annual marriage records in the Mss and transcribed registers of the sample parishes.

The borough of Wenlock clearly has the most rapidly accelerating marriage level well above the county rate. Given that 37 per cent of its parishes fall into categories which are also growing above the average for the regional sample this trend is not surprising. The two urban centres, Broseley and Madeley, and a number of smaller parishes on the north-east Shropshire coalfield contribute to this rapid increase. Munslow too exceeds the rate for this sample and is dominated (66%) by parishes in Group V which show effectively stable rates. Ludlow remains static. In contrast, the rates of change in Condover and Ford exhibit a decrease, and again these reflect their mix of parishes.

The overall pattern of decline in the rural parish sample is clearly evident, with only parishes in Group II, Bitterley and Ercall Magna, showing any stability. The decline is less marked in the lowland parishes, but the difference in trend is slight. The relative performance of these twenty three parishes is not correlated with their population rank, or density, nor does it appear to be related to locational factors. The impression created is of increasing marriage levels in the towns of the coalfield and selected parishes, and general stability or decline in the market town of Ludlow and in the majority of rural parishes whatever their demographic rank.

An appreciation of whether these differences in rates of growth are significant or not, and whether they really identify differences in marriage levels from 1754-1810 can be gained by considering the pattern of entry of marriage between areas over the total period. This is most simply achieved by tabulating the data in Table 3.1 as cumulative frequencies for each area and parish grouping and employing a Kolmogorov Smirnov two sample test iteratively on the series (Norcliffe 1977 Ch. 6). This has been undertaken for these series and a number of interesting conclusions can be drawn.

When the cumulated marriage profiles through time are compared for the five hundreds and boroughs, three groupings emerge. Wenlock differs in its profile at 0.01 probability level from all other areas and represents the first category. Ludlow and Munslow are not significantly different from each other, but differ in their profiles from all other groups (S 0.01) and form a second group. Ford and Condover also show no significant difference in profile, and show no similarity in their profiles of entry with the other areas, thus forming the third group (Table 3.4).

A similar threeford division emerges when the parish groupings making up this sample are tested in the same manner. The urban parishes and Group IV show no significant difference in profile, but differ from all other groupings (S 0.01) forming the first group. Group I differs significantly from all other parish ranks, with a more rapidly declining trend and contrasting pattern of entry of marriage through the period, and forms a second category. Groups II, III and V are not judged to differ from each other, but differ from all others and form a third group (Table 3.5).

It seems likely that these differences at a parish scale emerge from a combination of factors. Demographic forces such as rates of natural increase and levels of in-migration play a major role, so too must the economic structure of the parish. This, by controlling the nature and availability of employment, may well indirectly affect the trend. The actual aggregation of parish records into specific groupings may also influence the profile. As many of these groups are comprised of different numbers of parishes drawn from widely different environments, their combination could create a relatively independent marriage profile. There is, however, little evidence to suggest this is the case. What these differences suggest is that administrative areas, simply by their mix of parishes, may produce aggregate trends of distinctive form.

Table 3.4 Observed differences in the cumulated profiles of levels of marriages 1754-1810. Hundreds and Boroughs Sample

	n	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover	Ford
Wenlock	5650	-				
Munslow	2927	0.0490**	-			
Ludlow	1161	0.0690**	0.0310	-		
Condover	1627	0.1200**	0.0750**	0.0650**	-	
Ford	1978	0.1380**	0.0904**	0.0820**	0.0210	-

** Significant 0.01 Kolmogorov Smirnov two sample test.

Table 3.5 Observed differences in the cumulated profiles of levels of marriage 1754-1810. Constituent parishes in hundreds and boroughs sample

	n	Urban	I	II	III	IV	V
Urban ps	4152	-					
Gp. I	1962	0.1250**	-				
Gp. II	1376	0.0820**	0.0590**	-			
Gp. III	2471	0.0550**	0.0920**	0.0330	-		
Gp. IV	1758	0.0330	0.1270**	0.0850**	0.0580**	-	
Gp. V	1624	0.0771**	0.0700**	0.0300	0.0370	0.0720**	-

** Significant 0.01 Kolmogorov Smirnov two sample test.

Table 3.6 A comparison of the marriage profiles by area to those by parish grouping in the hundreds and boroughs sample. Observed differences in the cumulated profiles of levels of marriage 1754-1810

		Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover	Ford
	n	5650	2927	1161	1627	1978
Urban	4152	0.0150	-	0.0610**	-	-
Gp. I	1962	0.1340**	-	-	-	0.0170
Gp. II	1356	0.0630**	0.0450*	-	0.0440	0.0610**
Gp. III	2471	-	0.0190	-	0.0770**	0.1330**
Gp. IV	1758	0.0300	0.0390	-	0.1140**	-
Gp. V	1624	0.0800**	0.0350	-	0.0590**	0.0780**

** Significant 0.01
* Significant 0.05 Kolmogorov Smirnov two sample test.

Table 3.7 A comparison of the marriage profiles in the sample of hundreds and those drawn from sample parishes in rural Shropshire. Table of observed differences

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Total sample	0.0327	0.0128	0.0729*	0.1140**	0.0190	0.0455**
Upland			0.1030**	0.0950**		
Lowland			0.0960	0.1070**		

** Significant 0.01
* Significant 0.05 Kolmogorov Smirnov two sample test.

This is borne out by comparing the profiles of entry for each administrative unit with the trends for each parish grouping (Table 3.6). Thus for the borough of Wenlock no significant difference can be established between the overall profile and that for urban parishes and those in Group IV, but the trend differs significantly from the profiles of parishes in Groups I, III and V. The pattern for the borough therefore reflects what is going on in Madeley, Broseley, Barrow and Benthall (all coalfield parishes), Stoke St. Milborough and Eaton (Clee Hills and scarplands), rather than the other parishes included in its bounds, which are in the main located in the agricultural scarplands.

The borough of Ludlow shows no similarity with the performance of the two other urban centres, indicating something of the intra-group variety. Madeley and Broseley are the two other towns in this category and as all three centres are effectively the same size, it may well be setting and economy which contribute to the contrasting trends. Ludlow's rural hinterland and its own emphasis on traditional service functions (76.4 per cent) are in marked contrast to the 70 per cent of Madeley's and Broseley's population employed in trade, manufacturing and handicrafts. This suggests that function rather than size alone plays an important role in marriage levels, but examination of employment patterns for parishes of smaller size indicate that this relationship is not clear cut. For example, in Wenlock, of the four parishes in Group IV, only Benthall has a high level of employment in 'trade etc.' and the others have large proportions engaged in agriculture but they all have comparable marriage levels.

The marriage pattern for Munslow reflects the records of the 21 parishes in Groups III, IV and V showing no difference from them and only differs at 0.05 from the remaining parish Stanton Lacy in Group II. In Ford and Condover the aggregate profiles reflect the largest parishes. Thus Ford shows no difference from the performance of parishes in Group I,

namely Pontesbury and Westbury, but differs significantly from all other groupings (0.01). Condover reflects the parish of that name (Group II) rather than the trends in the fourteen smaller parishes falling in Groups III, IV and V.

This suggests that marriage trends through time are a composite function of the economy and population rank of the constituent parishes. Growth appears to be concentrated in the largest industrial parishes and the most stable rural ones (i.e. those with populations in 1811 between 3-600). Lower levels of growth characterise other small rural parishes, but larger rural parishes show, in general terms, a pattern of declining numbers marrying. These trends express themselves in considerable regional variation in marriage profile between the five hundreds and boroughs, with differences emerging between west and central parishes (Condover and Ford), eastern parishes (Wenlock) and the southern dales (Munslow and Ludlow). It is worth considering how widespread were these tendencies throughout the county, by comparing the performance of the different ranked population groups with those profiles for the sample of individual parishes.

The 10% county sample differs from the record of the hundreds and boroughs because, for all parishes within it, economy is held relatively constant. The majority of parishes are dominated by agricultural occupations and therefore any significant variation in profile may well be more precisely interpreted. The aggregate marriage profile for each sample differs significantly through time as might be expected, given the contrasting trends in Table 3.3. However, at a group level certain consistencies emerge (Table 3.7). No significant differences can be identified in the profile of entry through time in both samples in Groups I, II and V: although differences are evident in the trends exhibited by Groups III and IV, which are present for the total sample, and for lowland and upland sub-samples at better than 0.05 probability levels. The

similarity arises in part because the regional sample does include some parishes, particularly in Group I, which are common to the 10% rural sample; but elsewhere the overlap is not marked and suggests in three of these groups a common demographic pattern. The contrasts in Group III reflect the small numbers of parishes in this category in the rural sample (2) when compared with the regional aggregation (10), while the differences in Group IV may well arise because of the coalfield parishes included in the regional sample, which are not present in the second sample.

The evidence suggests that the demographic history of places of contrasting population rank in the two samples does show certain common characteristics, which are worthy of further exploration. Differences which do arise appear to be related to local contrasts and the small size of the sub-group samples in the rural county-wide sample. When the trends and profiles of this second sample are considered certain interesting regularities emerge.

No significant difference can be identified in the rate of change and profile of entry in the marriage levels of upland and lowland parishes during the period. This is matched by highly comparable profiles between the parish groupings. Parishes in Group III are judged to have a significantly different profile from those in Group IV at 0.05 (Od = 0.078 CV 0.05 = 0.0711), but no other differences at or above this level are discernible. It therefore appears that a fairly uniform marriage pattern was experienced in rural Shropshire from 1754-1810 in both upland and lowland environments and in places of varying rank below a population of 4000 in 1811.

As a further check on the stability of these trends, the sample was disaggregated into its upland and lowland components and the profiles of each Group evaluated and subsequently within-group trends were considered to establish their internal level of homogeneity. No difference can be identified in the marriage profiles of any of the lowland population

parish groupings. For them size plays no part in determining the rate of entry. The upland sample does not show such consistency, with the Group III parish Church Stretton having a pattern of entry statistically different at 0.05 from those in Group V (Od = 0.1153 CV 0.05 = 0.1029), but this is the only variation within a generally comparable pattern. It therefore appears that the contrast noted earlier between Group III and IV arises from the amalgamation of parishes in these categories in the sample as a whole, rather than reflecting a difference which exists at a sub-regional level. Within each region the marriage trends of each population grouping are remarkably uniform.

When the marriage profiles are compared for each grouping between the two sub-regions none of the profiles differ from each other in a statistically significant manner. In Groups II and III this involves the comparison of the records of entry for individual parishes, in the other three groups more parishes are involved and, as a check on the within-group trends, comparisons were made of the consistency in trend between the member parishes. Here, as might be expected, more variation was apparent.

Although no significant difference can be identified between upland and lowland parishes in Group I as a whole, when disaggregated, the parishes of Wem and Pontesbury (for the lowland) and Much Wenlock (upland) do show some variation. Wem differs significantly from Pontesbury (Od = 0.1348 S 0.01 = 0.0829) and from Much Wenlock (Od = 0.0748 S 0.05 = 0.0660), but no significant difference can be identified between Pontesbury and Much Wenlock. It is therefore the impact of Pontesbury on the lowland group that produces the similarity in patterns of entry between the areas. These internal differences may well arise because of Wem's much greater population size, which in 1811 was over 1000 more than the other two places. This difference may have prevailed throughout the eighteenth century and together with its more formed urban character created a great evenness of entries and a record showing some growth in

in marriage frequency, which would be in contrast to the other two parishes.

Group IV, containing six parishes (Wroxeter, Tong, Montford, Kinlet, Hopesay and Clungunford) which are widely scattered around the county, shows surprising consistency in its marriage records. Only Tong, in north-east Shropshire differs significantly in its pattern of entry from two others (Wroxeter Od = 0.1619 S 0.05 CV = 0.1619: Clungunford Od = 0.1853 S 0.05 = 0.1749), and this appears to arise because of the small number of marriages recorded in its registers from 1754-1760, which produces a shallower cumulative frequency curve than in the other parishes. No difference can be identified in the patterns of entry between any of the other parishes in this group.

Group V, the largest grouping containing ten parishes, does exhibit some significant contrasts between parishes, as might be expected, given both the range of population sizes within the group and the larger number of places. This variation in marriage profile however is not dramatic, only occurring on three out of a possible forty-five occasions. Thus Edgton differs from Uppington (Od = 0.3210 S 0.05 = 0.3015), More (Od = 0.2351 S 0.05 = 0.2340) and Abdon (Od = 0.2750 S 0.05 = 0.2629). Effectively it is only one parish that has a contrasting sequence of entry, and a surprising level of consistency is evident.

This discussion of temporal trends in the two sample populations leads to a number of conclusions. It is clear that annual variations in the numbers marrying at all levels of analysis show certain common periodicities in the pattern of rising and falling numbers of events. This is not reflected in the overall marriage trends which the samples exhibit. Continuously rising marriage trends are only characteristic of urban centres, Group IV parishes and in the aggregated records for Wenlock and Munslow in the hundreds and boroughs sample. In the rural parishes, in both samples, the predominant pattern is one of a declining trend with peaks prior to 1780 and after 1800.

Explanation of these trends is not straightforward. Faster and more sustained rates of growth appear to be associated with areas where a substantial proportion of the population are engaged in trade and handicrafts, but some growth is also evident in parishes dominated by agriculture. There is limited evidence to suggest that the demographic rank of the parish played a part in affecting its marital history.

In the regional sample distinctive groupings of these rankings emerge, and the combination or mix of parishes of different rank influences the trends in each hundred and borough. When the records are compared between samples for these rankings the entry of marriages through time shows remarkable consistency. This is also evident in the rural county sample, where no differences can be established between upland and lowland settings and few exist between parishes of different or similar rank. The hundred and borough sample suggests, in aggregate, a pattern of regional differentiation, but the pattern for parish groupings indicates a relatively uniform experience in the smaller places.

It is against this background that endogamous and exogamous marriage habits must be evaluated, and the role of mobility in the marital ecology of parishes of varying sizes and locations assessed.

II : Marital ecology : supply and demand in the marriage market 1754-1810

The trend and number of total marriages is made up of two components. These are local marriages contracted between two partners from within the parish (endogamous marriages) and extraparochial marriages, where one or both parties to matrimony come from some other parish (exogamous marriages). The degree to which any marriage record is dominated by one or other of these marriage types will depend on a number of factors.

Of primary importance is the sex and age structure, population size and density of the parish, for this will determine the local pattern of supply

of marriage partners and the potential for demand to be satisfied within the parish. When the parish cannot meet demand, brides or grooms must be sought outside the community. It might be expected that this need would increase as the population size of a parish decreased and thus levels of extraparochial marriage should exhibit some regular progression through the settlement hierarchy. Unfortunately, for the eighteenth century, no information is available on the sex or age structure of parish populations, so the simple proposition advanced above cannot be refined.

The argument assumes that the desire to marry is a constant in all settings, that levels of celibacy show no variation, and that there is no pre-marital mobility in search of employment which might shape the pattern. It would also imply, if geographical principles are added, that people would initially search their immediate environment and exhaust its possibilities, prior to searching further afield. All of these are wholly untenable assumptions. Clearly other factors also influence and modify the pattern and it is unrealistic to try and provide an authoritative statement on marital ecology without incorporating some or all of them. Before so doing, it is appropriate to examine the empirical trends of endogamous and exogamous marriages over this period to identify their relative importance in different settings.

i) Extraparochial marriage trends

Table 3.8 documents the pattern of extraparochial association in the two samples, with 22.8 per cent in the regional and 26.3 per cent in the rural sample of all marriages involving such a liaison. The majority of such marriages involved an extraparochial groom, approximately 80 per cent, and in this section no attention is given to any sex-specific contrasts in the pattern. Examination of the proportions involved for the total period in the regional sample and for the parish groupings indicates that some variation is apparent between areas and places of different

Table 3.8 Marriage trends : exogamous marriages in the sample parishes 1754-1810 (percentage of all marriages in brackets)

Hundreds and Boroughs (Regional sample)

	1754-60	1761-70	1771-80	1781-90	1791-1800	1801-10	Total
Wenlock	130(22.8)	179(21.6)	171(18.5)	150(14.7)	127(12.4)	132(12.9)	889(15.7)
Munslow	124(37.0)	179(36.8)	169(33.0)	139(26.2)	120(22.1)	139(26.7)	870(29.7)
Ludlow	45(29.0)	56(27.3)	41(20.9)	38(19.7)	47(25.5)	41(18.0)	268(23.1)
Condover	67(36.4)	111(33.4)	103(29.8)	100(33.9)	92(36.7)	83(37.9)	556(34.2)
Ford	78(30.2)	101(24.5)	84(20.1)	65(18.4)	56(22.9)	73(25.0)	457(23.1)

Parish size structure (1811)

Urban ps	97(20.9)	130(20.6)	109(16.8)	110(14.5)	106(15.2)	97(10.1)	649(15.6)
Gp I	73(30.1)	83(21.4)	69(16.0)	52(14.3)	46(18.0)	51(18.0)	374(19.1)
Gp II	44(26.3)	62(24.8)	56(20.5)	52(22.8)	64(29.9)	54(22.1)	332(24.1)
Gp III	97(33.1)	150(35.2)	121(26.5)	100(25.1)	84(19.2)	111(23.9)	663(26.8)
Gp IV	53(35.3)	86(30.6)	103(34.2)	86(26.8)	56(15.7)	74(21.3)	458(26.0)
Gp V	80(42.3)	115(39.5)	110(38.5)	92(28.4)	86(30.1)	81(32.7)	564(34.7)
Total 60 ps	444(29.5)	626(27.6)	568(23.7)	492(20.5)	442(19.7)	468(18.3)	3040(22.8)

10% Sample Rural Shropshire

Gp I	Lowland	58(30.5)	63(20.8)	67(20.6)	52(17.6)	48(18.8)	60(23.7)	348(21.4)
	Upland	24(27.0)	26(20.0)	14(8.3)	18(13.1)	12(12.0)	12(11.8)	106(14.3)
	Total	82(29.4)	89(20.6)	81(16.4)	70(16.1)	60(16.8)	72(20.3)	454(19.2)
Gp II	Lowland	21(28.4)	40(32.7)	29(24.4)	14(12.2)	24(23.5)	24(22.6)	152(23.9)
	Upland	1(3.2)	12(18.4)	13(20.3)	6(11.5)	9(14.7)	18(30.0)	59(17.8)
	Total	22(20.9)	52(27.8)	42(22.9)	20(12.0)	33(20.2)	42(25.3)	211(21.8)
Gp III	Lowland	11(28.9)	21(41.2)	27(67.5)	23(48.9)	19(31.6)	5(20.8)	106(40.8)
	Upland	13(31.7)	23(34.8)	18(33.9)	11(25.6)	8(23.5)	14(32.6)	87(31.1)
	Total	24(30.4)	44(38.5)	45(48.4)	34(37.7)	27(28.7)	19(28.4)	193(35.7)
Gp IV	Lowland	21(44.6)	33(45.2)	31(31.9)	16(19.7)	23(43.4)	23(32.4)	147(34.8)
	Upland	17(35.4)	29(33.7)	40(38.8)	14(19.4)	16(19.8)	26(35.6)	142(30.6)
	Total	38(40.0)	62(38.9)	71(35.5)	30(19.6)	39(29.1)	49(34.0)	289(33.8)
Gp V	Lowland	13(39.4)	26(51.0)	25(48.0)	17(38.6)	29(65.9)	15(34.8)	125(48.6)
	Upland	17(51.5)	29(53.7)	25(36.7)	24(35.8)	18(32.1)	21(43.7)	134(41.1)
	Total	30(45.5)	55(52.4)	50(41.7)	41(36.9)	47(47.0)	36(39.6)	259(43.6)
11 Lowland ps		124(32.5)	183(30.5)	179(28.2)	122(21.0)	143(27.7)	127(25.6)	878(27.3)
12 Upland ps		72(29.7)	119(29.7)	110(24.1)	73(19.7)	63(19.0)	91(26.8)	528(24.7)
Total Sample		196(31.4)	302(30.2)	289(26.5)	195(20.5)	206(24.3)	218(26.1)	1406(26.3)

Source: Mss and transcribed registers of Shropshire parishes in SRO.

demographic rank. Comparable variations in the relative importance of exogamy also occur in the rural sample, which in their consistency lend some support to the notion of population rank and the supply and demand of partners being influential in shaping the pattern.

In both samples, the parish groupings show a general increase in the proportions of extraparochial marriages as population size decreases. The first two groups in each sample have proportions below their respective averages and there is a natural gradation in their proportions thereafter. The regional sample indicates that levels of exogamy were lowest in Wenlock; Ludlow and Ford form an intermediate category; while the highest levels occur in Condover and Munslow. This in part reflects their mix of parishes, but also may well relate to a number of other factors. In the rural sample, slightly higher levels of exogamy are characteristic of the lowland parishes both in terms of the total sample and at each level in the parish hierarchy. This implies that contrasts existed between the north and south of the county in patterns of mobility, which are worth noting. This is reinforced by considering the parish breakdown for the south Shropshire hundreds and boroughs against those of the sample lowland parishes; here the contrast is more marked than for the upland sample.

When the proportions for individual parishes are considered, the relative contribution of exogamy to the marriage records shows more variability. Although there is no absolute regularity in the records, such that all members of a higher ranked grouping have lower proportions than the members of the group below, there is an aggregate consistency. In the regional sample the lowest proportion/parish occurs in Ludlow (11 per cent), while in the rural sample Much Wenlock has the lowest extra-parochial associations (14.3 per cent). The highest levels of exogamy are clearly concentrated in the smallest Group V parishes in both samples.

These aggregate relationships would suggest that levels of exogamy are closely interrelated with parish population size and density. When

these associations are examined at the level of an individual parish this is partly confirmed. For the 60 parishes in the hundreds and boroughs sample, levels of exogamy are inversely correlated with population size (R = -0.4063 S 0.01), but show little association with density (R = +0.0875 NS). This relationship with population size holds good in all the individual hundreds and is reinforced by a comparable relationship to population density in Wenlock and Munslow (R = -0.5108 S 0.01 (Munslow) R = -0.5053 S 0.05 (Wenlock)). These significant relationships are not sustained within the parish groupings in this sample, where the small numbers and the limited intra-group range in values disturb the linearity. Only in Group V, where 30 parishes are included, is a relationship established between exogamy and population (R = -0.3925 S 0.05). In the rural sample, exogamy shows a closer association with population size (Rs = -0.7766 S 0.01) than with population density (Rs = -0.4417 S 0.05). These associations vindicate the choice of sampling frame discussed in Chapter Two and suggest a number of preliminary conclusions.

1. Exogamy was a minority form of marriage during this period of the eighteenth century in both the hundreds and boroughs sample and throughout rural Shropshire. It was far more common for brides and grooms to select spouses from within rather than outside the parish.

2. Exogamy appears to increase as population size decreases - such that the greater the population of a parish the lower its proportion of extraparochial alliances. To a lesser extent in some of the sub-samples and in the rural sample a comparable association exists with population density. Both of these correlations suggest that exogamy is closely related to the general laws of supply and demand. Although the argument is presented in demographic terms, this can be considered as a surrogate measure for economic contrasts in employment opportunity. This is a point which will be developed later.

These findings suggest that while exogamy was a minority form, it is nonetheless a critical component in the smaller rural parish. In such places, over 40 per cent of marriages involve extraparochial linkages and these are very influential on the overall marriage profile. There is no evidence in these data that extraparochial linkages, and higher rates of exogamy, show any absolute link with economy though levels of outside choice are lower in the towns and in the borough of Wenlock. Very little variation is apparent between the hundreds and boroughs and that which occurs between parishes shows more association with demography than economy.

3. Levels of exogamy do show some minor regional variations between lowland and upland samples in the rural data set. This may well reflect variations in demographic histories as well as contrasts in accessiblity between the two relief zones. It is therefore noted rather than explained.

ii) <u>The role of exogamy within the total marriage trend</u>

These findings point to certain regularities which are evident in the marital ecology of parishes in the Shropshire samples for the total period, but they give no indication of the temporal variability in extra-parochial association. In a stable and unchanging world it could be argued that these demographic relationships would remain constant through time. Thus a small community would always require the input of extra-parochial spouses to sustain its marriage pattern, for without it there would be inadequate numbers to maintain the population. In such circ-umstances, the proportions of extraparochial alliances would be the same every year and show little oscillation. This would also produce a correspondence between the rates of change for all marriages and those for extraparochial associations.

Against such a stable scenario must be set two forces of change. Populations during the eighteenth century are unlikely to have remained constant. Natural increase would therefore play an important role in

modifying the demand curve for exogamous associations. Secondly, during this period changes did occur within the broader space-economy. Here, increased mobility, the drift from countryside to town in search of the better employment prospects provided by the urban and industrial areas, could well alter local demographic trends.

The marriage record can only indirectly provide any evidence on the role of natural increase in this process and any full understanding must depend on establishing the interrelationships of all vital events for particular communities. It can however provide an indication of the role of exogamy and mobility within the sample parishes. Firstly, by providing details on the temporal variation in exogamy in parishes of different demographic rank, it allows attention to be focussed on the stability of the need for outside selection of partners. Secondly, the same record provides evidence of whether changes in the broader space-economy were reflected in increasing numbers of extraparochial associations as a result of rising levels of employment mobility.

The interpretation of these data on this latter point is complicated by customary practice over marriage solemnisation. As most women appear to have returned to their home parish to marry, then any rising mobility by them would be uniformly reflected in the records of all parishes. For men the reverse is the case. If they sought employment prior to marriage and found a bride near their workplace they would marry in her parish. It may well have been that in a situation of rapid social change, breaks occurred with customary tradition. If people were more mobile then, settlement rights and customary practice may have been relaxed and much hidden mobility may be included in the registers. This could arise through changing social conventions, or through under-registration of extraparochial entries. Thus in centres of growth, marriages might increase and levels of extraparochial entry fall, even though that growth may in part have been fuelled by pre-marital mobility.

To examine these themes further the trends through time in levels of exogamy have been examined in both sets of sample data.

iii) Aggregate regularities

Table 3.3 documented the variations in annual rates of change in the numbers marrying for the two samples. These data showed some variation in the pattern of change between areas and parishes of different population grouping. Comparable variation is not really apparent in Table 3.9 which presents the rates of change in the numbers of extraparochial marriages. This indicates that from 1754-1810 all areas and parish groupings have trends which reflect declining levels of extraparochial marriage. The rate of this decline was least marked in Condover and Ludlow, the urban parishes, and those in Group II in the regional sample, and in the smallest parishes (Group V) and the largest parishes (Groups I and II) in the rural county sample.

Not surprisingly, there is little association between the rates of change in total marriages and those in extraparochial associations. The relative order of rates of change is only comparable in the rural sample between the two data sets. This would suggest that in the regional sample and those parishes which make it up, exogamy was of limited significance. It did not shape or influence the total marriage trend. Comparable trends might have been expected if the two series were closely interrelated. In the rural sample however when the rates of change in both series are compared for all 23 constituent parishes, there is a strong positive correlation between the record for total marriages and for extraparochial associations (Rs = 0.7257 S 0.01). This close correspondence between the series holds good for lowland parishes (Rs = 0.6954 S 0.05) and upland parishes (Rs = 0.6713 S 0.05) at a lower significance level. This implies a degree of isomorphism between the two series and possibly some inter-dependence.

Table 3.9 Average Annual rates of change in numbers of exogamous marriages in the sample parishes (percentage/year)

HUNDREDS AND BOROUGHS (REGIONAL SAMPLE)		RURAL 10% SAMPLE
By administrative unit	By constituent parishes	By constituent parishes
	1. Group II -0.13	
	2. Urban ps -0.40	
1. Condover hundred -0.41		
2. Borough of Ludlow -0.43		1. Group V -0.45
		2. Group II -0.53
		3. Group I -0.68
		LOWLAND Ps -0.73
TOTAL 60 PARISHES -0.78	TOTAL 60 Ps -0.78	
	3. Group IV -0.78	
3. Bor. of Wenlock -0.79		
4. Munslow hundred -0.84		
		TOTAL SAMPLE -0.80
		UPLAND Ps -0.91
	4. Group V -0.93	
	5. Group III -0.93	
		4. Group IV -1.12
		5. Group III -1.13
5. Ford hundred -1.15		
	6. Group I -1.25	

Source: Based on the annual number of extraparochial marriages documented in the Mss and transcribed marriage registers of the sample parishes.

As in the previous analysis, the profiles of entry of extraparochial marriage over the total period (Table 3.8) were compared. No significant differences were detected between the hundreds and boroughs and the uniformity in their rates of change belie, at this scale of analysis, any association between higher levels of mobility and economy. On two occasions, their constituent parishes show different extraparochial marriage profiles with Group II and Group IV both differing from Group I (KS II-I Od = 0.1130 ..IV-I Od = .1140 S 0.05), this appears to relate to the relative proportions per decade rather than contrasts in the overall trends. In the rural sample, no difference can be identified between the extraparochial profiles for upland and lowland parishes, and no significant differences emerge between the profiles of entry in each grouping within and between areas. This suggests a remarkable uniformity in the profiles of extraparochial marriage in and between both samples, for no significant differences could be established between the profiles of Group I-V in the two data sets.

It would appear from this analysis, that the variations which occur in total marriage trends between areas and groups are more closely related to endogamous marriages fuelled by natural increase, than to any distinctive contribution from extraparochial linkages. As the majority of profiles are statistically similar, i.e. drawn from the same parent population, then no areas or parishes were losing or gaining marriages because of increased mobility.

Extraparochial associations were far from constant. Figures 3.4-3.6 indicate considerable variation in the proportions of marriages which did involve non-local partners. In the hundreds and boroughs sample, levels of exogamy show continuous decline for all 60 parishes throughout the period, while the rural Shropshire sample suggests decline until 1790, with a return to the previous levels in the last two decades. Exogamy, far from being constant, appears to reflect and respond to the

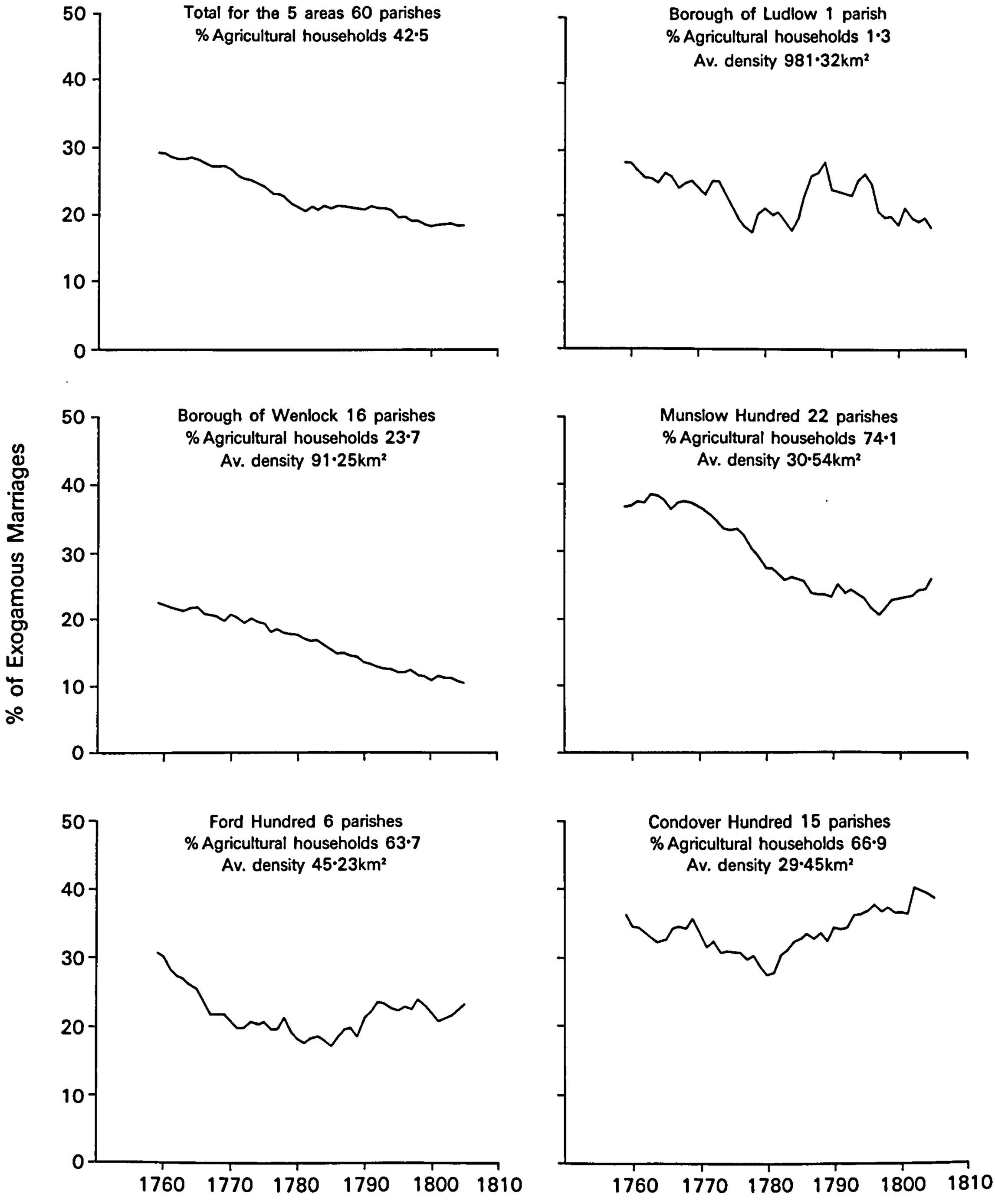


Figure 3.4 Levels of exogamy in the hundreds and boroughs sample (eleven year averages).

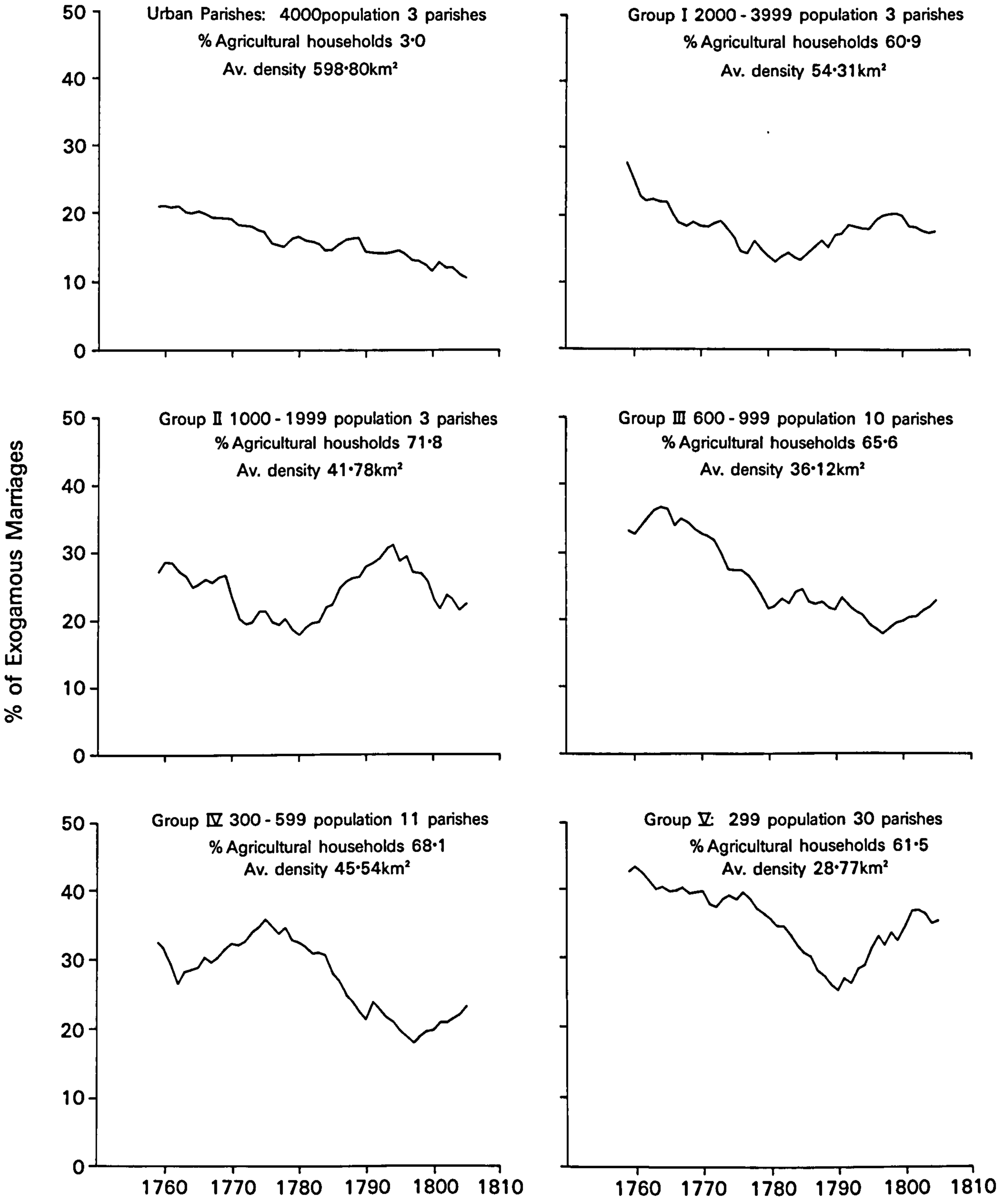


Figure 3.5 Levels of exogamy in the constituent parishes of the hundreds and boroughs sample (eleven year averages).

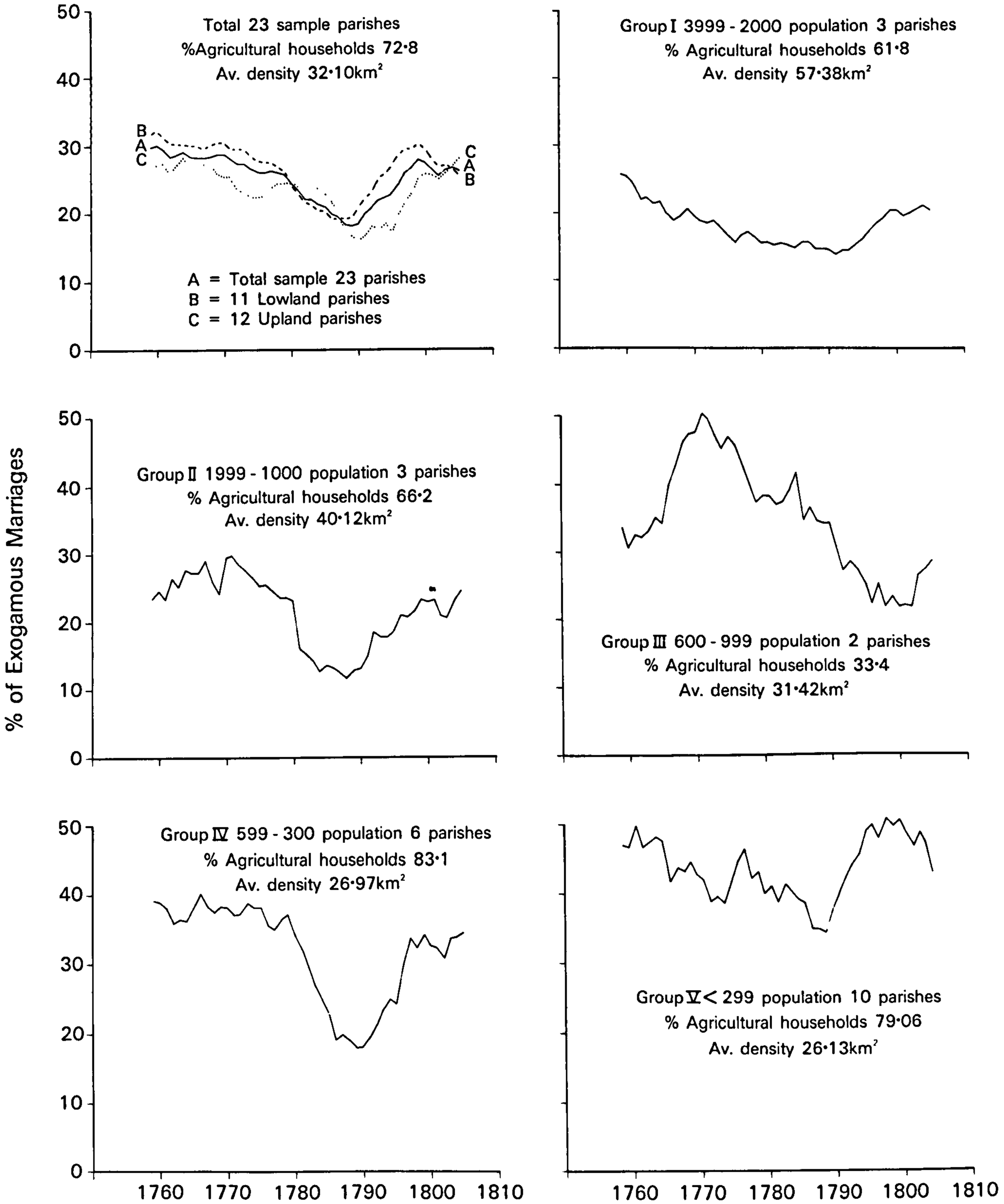


Figure 3.6 Levels of exogamy in the rural Shropshire sample (eleven year averages).

local supply/demand of partners, which is predetermined by natural increase. There is no evidence in these diagrams to suggest a continuous increase in the proportions of extraparochial marriage during the later eighteenth century, which might have arisen from broader changes in the space-economy.

Considerable variations in levels of exogamy around these general trends are apparent. The decline is most marked in the borough of Wenlock and in the urban parishes in the regional sample. As the record for Ludlow indicates, however, during the 1780s levels of exogamy did increase in that town, only to decline subsequently. Munslow hundred shows a decline until 1790, while Ford and Condover both decline until the 1780s and then show a return to previous levels. These area trends reflect the trends of their constituent parishes. In Groups I-V, with the exception of Group IV, levels of exogamy fell until the 1780s and 1790s, rising again at the end of the period.

A similar pattern is evident in the sample of parishes from rural Shropshire. In both the largest and the smallest parishes the level of exogamy exhibits a generally falling trend until 1790, after which date it rises quite steeply to its previous level. Such a trend must be seen against rising marriage frequencies until 1780 in both groups of parishes, then falling numbers of marriages until 1800, after which marriages increase again in the largest places but continue to fall in the smallest parishes. Parishes in size categories between these extremes show rather different trends. In these parishes levels of exogamy increase through the 1760s and 70s, alongside increasing annual totals, then decrease dramatically until 1790, as do the total marriages, and then subsequently increase in magnitude and proportion as marriage levels rise again. A comparable interrelationship exists between total marriages and extra-parochial linkages in the regional sample.

These series indicate that increasing levels of mobility are not characteristic in Shropshire during the later eighteenth century, at least in association with marriage. Any variation in levels of exogamy appears to be closely related to the marital ecology (i.e. the relationships between local supply and demand of partners) of individual parishes or groups of parishes and the need for outside choice because of failings in the local pattern of supply. It could be argued that these variations in levels of exogamy are no more than random fluctuations. Levels of exogamy are therefore viewed as constant. The regularity of these patterns, however, works counter to such a thesis, and suggests that these proportions were responding to other more varied forces. To advance this argument further it is necessary to look in greater detail at the interrelationships of these series.

iv) Disaggregated interrelationships

Some insight into the demographic dynamics of these data can be gained by considering the relative contributions of endogamous and exogamous unions to the total marriage trend. As the total marriage pattern is made up of two additively related elements, local, endogamous marriages and non-local, exogamous marriages, these two elements may combine together to produce the total trend of entry in a variety of ways. They might be perfectly balanced throughout the period, such that both endogamous and exogamous series represented constant proportions and changed through time at constant rates. Alternatively, one or other element could dominate for part or all of the period and have far greater influence on the overall trend than the other.

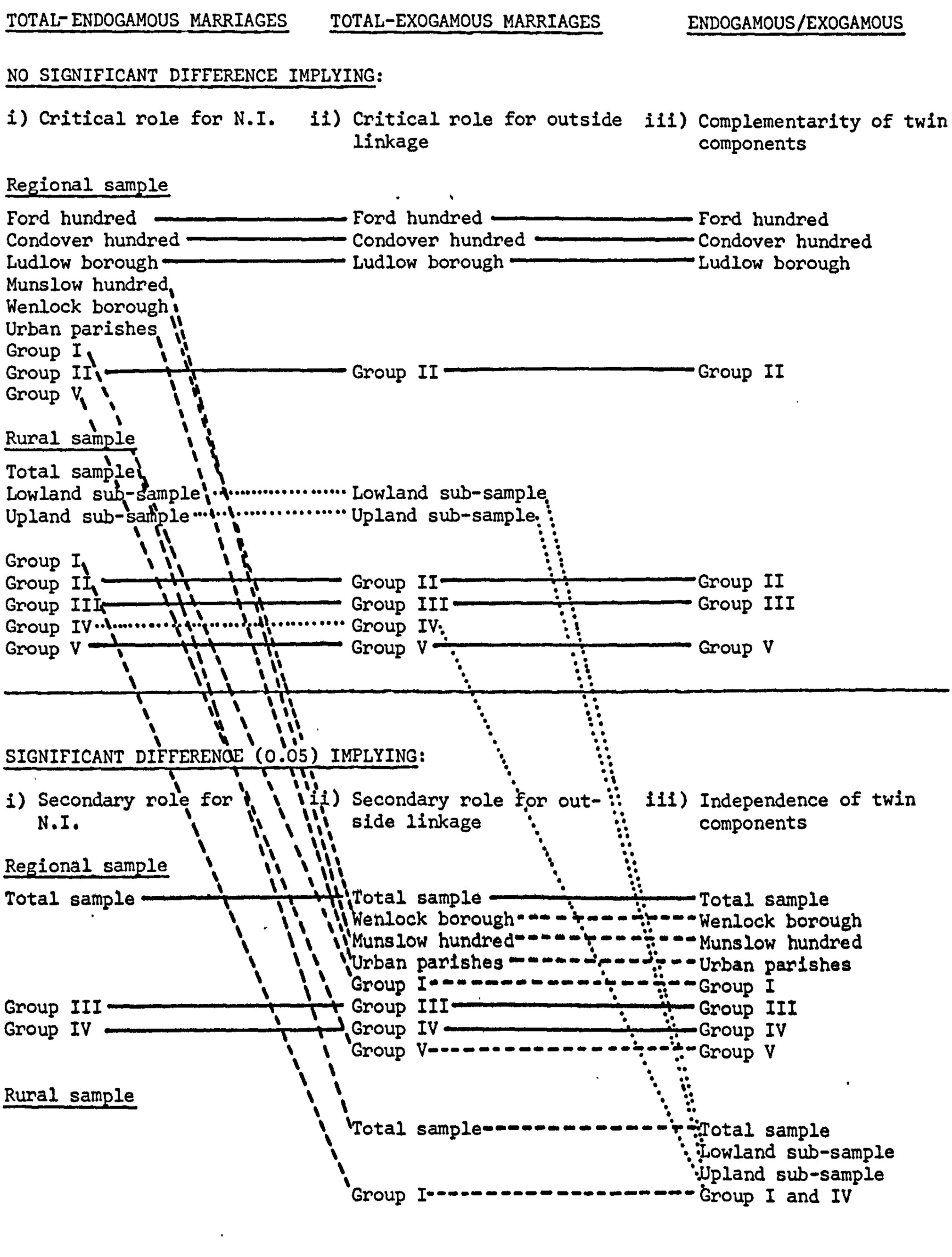
In the former case, there would be no significant difference between the trend of entry for endogamous and exogamous components and that of the total record. It could well be however that these components would differ from each other, with the total trend occurring as a product of their combination. In the latter case, one or other of the endogamous

or exogamous series might exercise a disproportionate influence on the total record and thus show no difference from the total trend, while the other differed significantly from it.

It might be expected that the total marriage pattern would relate most strongly to the endogamous record, for this after all is the most frequent type of association. Identification of the role of each type of marriage in the total pattern of entry through time is valuable because it allows the relative importance of the extraparochial element to be assessed more precisely. To examine this proposition further, cumulative frequency curves of each profile have been compared using Kolmogorov Smirnov two sample tests and the results are reasonably instructive.

Table 3.10 indicates the direction of the associations which were identified in each sample from the above tests, and these imply some interesting differences between the records. In the majority of cases no significant difference can be established between the profile of entry for endogamous marriages and that for all events. It therefore seems that the marriage trend is heavily dependent on the pattern of locally generated natural increase. The exceptions to this pattern will be discussed later. The degree of emphasis on this level of natural increase emerges in column 2, where the different sub-samples split into two groupings. In the first of these, where no significant difference can be established between total and exogamous marriages, it appears that the trend is equally related to exogamous patterns and this is confirmed by the similarity of the endogamous and exogamous profiles in column 3. In this set of sub-samples extraparochial marriage might be seen as a necessary constant input. In the second grouping significant differences do arise, which suggest that exogamy is unimportant to the overall trend and, as column 3 indicates, not correlated with the endogamous profile.

Table 3.10 The interrelationships of endogamous, exogamous and total marriage trends in the sample parishes. A comparison of marriage profiles 1754-1810



Certain exceptions exist to this twofold categorisation. The records for the total regional sample and the parishes making up Groups III and IV within it show no relationship with the endogamous trends. The lowland and upland sub-samples and Group IVs total marriage profiles in the rural sample appear to be correlated with endogamous and exogamous profiles, but the two components are different from each other. In these exceptional cases, it appears that the marriage trend in toto, is in the first case, an absolutely independent product of the two components; in the second the total profile is related to both the parts, but they themselves are unrelated.

These contrasts within the two samples may well arise from the procedure of aggregating the records of groups of parishes, rather than examining individual relationships, but this alone cannot account for the differences in performance. Where comparisons can be made between the two samples, for example in terms of the profiles of entry of exogamous and endogamous marriages in Groups I-V, no differences can be identified in the exogamous series, and differences in endogamous profiles occur only in Groups III and IV (Od = 0.1631 S 0.05 in III, Od = 0.1320 S 0.05 in IV), which interestingly are two of the deviant groupings in column 1. In the rural sample, trends of endogamous and exogamous entry are identical between upland and lowland areas and show the same interrelationships as in the aggregate groups in Table 3.10. It therefore seems that the role of the two types of marriage and their relationships to the total trend varied in different areas and parish categories. In some, extraparochial associations played a key role, in others they were subservient to the forces of locally generated natural increase.

It is interesting that in those places where marriage levels were increasing most rapidly - Wenlock, Munslow, Urban parishes and those in Group I and IV in the regional sample, and in the largest parishes in the rural sample (Group I) - exogamy was of little significance to the total

trend. In contrast, in the areas where marriage levels were stable or declining - Ford, Condover, Ludlow and Group II in the regional sample and in the bulk of the rural sample groupings - exogamy was of far greater significance, and may have operated as a constant, critical factor.

These findings are suggestive of contrasts in marriage trends rather than conclusive about their form. These data are inappropriate for the full exploration of the relationship between the twin components in the marriage record. These records require matching with the baptismal data to appreciate fully the role of natural increase and that is beyond the scope of this enquiry. What they do suggest, however, is some variation in the role of exogamous associations in different settings. They suggest that, at this scale, the temporal pattern of marriage is a product of both marriage components in many places, rather than, as implied earlier, completely dominated by the endogamous record. This is almost certainly the case at the scale of an individual parish, particularly if it has a low population total. Here, the absence of local brides and grooms inevitably and constantly forced many young men and women to marry spouses from further afield. For this reason, if no other, if a wider understanding is to be gained of marital ecology, attention must be focussed on the extraparochial pattern.

III : Towards a synthesis

This analysis of the demographic dynamics of marriage now makes possible a more substantive interpretation of the trends discussed earlier. Two hypotheses were advanced, firstly one of fundamental stability in patterns of exogamy and secondly one of a progressive increase in exogamy as a result of increasing levels of mobility. The evidence presented in the preceding paragraphs does not unequivocally support either view

and indeed, in the form in which it is presented, cannot, for it is restricted in its areal coverage and isolates the marriage record from other important demographic variables. It does suggest something of the complexity of the relationship and the need to evaluate the problem in terms of the overall demography of a parish or group of parishes.

Marriages in some areas and in certain of the parish groupings show increasing annual trends from 1754-1810, but this is not matched by comparable increases in extraparochial marriages. In rural parishes, the overall trend declines and is matched by a comparable decline in exogamy. These trends disguise periods of considerable fluctuation when both total marriages and extraparochial liaisons were increasing. Rising numbers of marriage are most characteristic of the urban and larger parishes in both samples and of the borough of Wenlock and hundred of Munslow. Rising trends are also apparent in Group IV parishes, those between 300-600 population in 1811. These growth features would suggest that while increasing numbers marrying may have been associated with economy this linkage was very complex, for patterns increase in both industrial and agrarian settings.

The decline or relative stability in marriage levels in rural areas is not easy to explain. Population in these parishes during the eighteenth century must have seen some increase and this ought to be reflected in marriage totals. It could be argued that much of this increase was absorbed by the towns and industrial areas and this accounts for their relative increase in numbers marrying, at the expense of the smaller settlements. If this were so, it might be expected that total marriage trends and the trends of extraparochial association in larger places might be different from smaller ones. There is some evidence that this is the case in terms of total marriage trend, but none to support a clear contrast in levels of extraparochial association. This could arise because of a relaxation in registration in urban and industrial parishes, but the records are so lacking in contrast, that this alone cannot be the full explanation.

The lack of evidence to support the idea of out-migration from the rural parishes to the town, suggests that the decline may be attributable to fewer couples choosing to marry or being able so to do in the countryside. This is supported by the trends themselves as well as by secondary evidence.

In all sub-samples annual marriage frequencies increase until 1780, a response, it must be assumed, to rising population totals and an economic climate conducive to family formation. Subsequently they fall, a phenomenon noted at a national scale (Griffiths 1926 p 33-35), and then start to increase around the turn of the century. Glass (1938), Chambers (1972 p 128-151) and Habakkuk (1971 p 394) have emphasised the sensitivity of marriage to economic recession, with fewer people choosing to wed when times were hard. This inevitably had some repercussion on birth rates which in turn affected subsequent marriage rates. If this is an important contributory factor then it might well influence the trends in the rural parishes more dramatically than in those which were demographically larger and more robust in terms of economy.

Rising birth rates between 1740-60 (noted by Flinn 1970) would produce, in favourable social and economic circumstances, increasing annual marriage frequencies between 1760-80. These in turn would lead to higher numbers of births, unless of course a change occurred in economic circumstances. Clearly between 1780 and the late 1790s such a change did occur for marriages become noticeably less frequent. This decline has been attributed to a succession of poor harvests and the disruptive influences of the French Wars, alongside the difficulties of obtaining cottage accommodation (Griffiths 1926 p 33-35, Habakkuk 1971 p 40 and Chambers 1972). By the turn of the century, the prospects for couples looked more attractive and marriage frequencies increased, but by 1810 had not reached the level characteristic of the early years of the period. The effect of this is to produce an overall profile of

decline in many sub-samples, even though it is probable that during the total period the population continued to increase. The slump may therefor be attributable to delayed or deferred marriage, rather than to increasing out-migration from the countryside.

Direct proof for such an interpretation cannot be elicited from the marriage returns alone and must await the cross-matching of marriage and baptismal data set against full aggregative analysis for individual areas. It is presented here as a possible explanation of the trends in some of these rural parishes, against which the marriage record itself can be assessed.

If the overall trends tell little about potential mobility and the variation between town and countryside the analysis of marital ecology does provide secondary support for the argument presented above. This points quite clearly to the dependence of these trends on levels of natural increase, implied by endogamous associations, and to the role played by exogamous marriages in contributing to these trends. In certain groupings, extraparochial association is secondary to other forces in shaping the overall trend, but in others it appears to represent a critical constant factor, responsive to the demand and supply of local partners.

This is reflected in variations in the proportions of all marriages which involve extraparochial liaisons through the settlement hierarchy. While such marriages involve a minority group in most parishes, the size of this minority increases down the settlement hierarchy. This emphasises the importance of outside linkage to sustain marriage levels in the smaller places. These proportions vary through time, reflecting in a responsive manner the overall demography of the parish groupings - rising when need and economic circumstances necessitate or allow outside choice, falling in times of plentiful local supply of partners or when marriage is deferred or delayed for economic reasons.

Thus in many of the sub-samples, when the impact of natural increase is positive, between 1760-80, levels of exogamy fall, for natural growth accommodates the demand for partners. As marriages become less frequent as a result of deferred alliances and economic recession, there is still less need for extraparochial liaisons and so they continue to fall, and when marriage levels increase at the end of the period, exogamy starts again to increase. The nature of this association does show some variations and appears to be more dominant in the smaller parishes in the rural sample and in hundreds in central Shropshire than in certain of the other groupings.

In these parishes outside selection of partners is far more critical to the pattern of entry of marriage through time. Thus the testing procedure reveals that in such places the total pattern of entry of endogamous and exogamous marriages shows no difference in profile, suggesting that they work in harmony to produce the total trend. This indicates that, notwithstanding the variation through time, exogamy is effectively a constant requirement dependent on local need even though it is not stable throughout the period.

None of these series shows a continuous or progressive increase in levels of exogamy which might support a thesis of a gradual widening of opportunities and increasing mobility in the population at large. Prior to 1790 there is no evidence to indicate such a trend. After that date and until 1810, in all the profiles, except those for urban parishes and the borough of Wenlock, levels of exogamy increase. This latter period might therefore be viewed as the point at which a pre-industrial society returns to a pattern of extraparochial association, and, by implication, pre-marital mobility, more similar to that which prevailed earlier. More individuals start to marry partners from outside their parish at most levels in the settlement system, but this response is of no greater magnitude than that which occurred earlier in the century.

These comments relate to the proportions of the population involved in such associations, rather than to the distance over which such linkages took place. The former is critical to the structural interpretation of levels of mobility in society as a whole, a point frequently overlooked in commenting on the marriage record, while the latter is of equal importance if the dimensions of the marriage field are to be appreciated.

This presentation has examined the relative magnitude and importance of extraparochial liaisons through the settlement hierarchy in the two sample data sets. It is apparent that such associations are critical in shaping the total marriage trend in many rural parishes and appear also to reflect the demographic needs of such places. It is against such a background that the marriage distances and the spatial dimensions of marriage territories should be assessed.

Chapter 4 Extraparochial marriage : the dimensions of the marriage horizon

The critical significance of extraparochial alliances in shaping the total temporal trend of marriage in certain parish settings has already been discussed, but of greater interest to the geographer are the spatial linkages that these marriages describe. Although it is important to isolate temporal variations in the magnitude of these associations, it is only when the exogamous record is considered in geographical terms that the marriage record becomes embedded in a three dimensional behavioural world.

The nature of the place data, i.e. parish of origin of bride or groom, the problems associated with its interpretation and the uses to which such information can and has been put, have already been discussed in Chapter One. It is inappropriate at this stage to extend that discussion and this chapter simply considers the spatial patterns of extraparochial contact in the two samples, prior to formulating any explanation or interpretation. This is undertaken in two stages. Initially, consideration is given to the overall record of spatial association recorded in the sample for the total period and this is followed in a later chapter by a review of the changing character of marriage horizons during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

I : Marriage horizons 1754-1810

Exogamy appears to have been a minority form of marital selection in the majority of the parishes included in these two samples. At a regional level, the proportions of exogamous marriages were greatest in Condover and Munslow and relatively less frequent in the other three hundreds and boroughs. Wenlock, the most industrial in its occupation structure, and the borough of Ludlow, had noticeably lower levels of such association. No clear evidence exists, however, to suggest that economy and urban

structure played any major role in encouraging outside selection of partners.

Variations in the level of exogamy seem most strongly associated with the demographic rank of parishes and to a lesser extent with their population densities. Thus in both samples, there is a clear increase in the proportions of marriages involving extraparochial partners the lower the rank of the parish. This presumably reflects the limited number of available partners, the need to seek employment outside the parish and possibly the smaller area of lowly ranked parishes. It may incidentally imply that estate controlled parishes were not completely 'closed'. This latter point is probably only a partial truth. No doubt new men and women were regularly hired from outside the parish, but rather than reflecting this, the records are far more likely to indicate the strength of social convention that brought the bride back to her home parish to marry. Not only does the level of these associations vary through the demographic hierarchy, but it also shows some variation according to relief zone. Lowland parishes' marriage records show slightly higher levels of exogamy than their upland equivalents. This may suggest either that mobility was easier in certain environments, or that regional differences in economy and central-place associations encouraged rather more outside selection of partners.

These conclusions, derived from Chapter Three, ignore any differentiation of the records of extraparochial marriage on the basis of sex. The literature on marriage horizons frequently notes that the majority of extraparochial entries are for grooms, but little has been made of the issue. This is unfortunate for, in many ways, the sex-specificity of the marriage entries for extraparochial partners is critical to their intepretation.

Table 4.1 indicates how consistent the sex-bias in extraparochial entry is in both samples and in the various parish groupings. Only on

Table 4.1 Sex-specific entries of extraparochial partners in the sample parishes 1754-1810

			Percentage		Grooms		Brides	
Regional Sample	N	% Exo.	Grooms	Brides	n	%/G	n	%/B
Wenlock	889	15.7	71.0	29.0	631	11.2	258	4.6
Munslow	870	29.7	84.0	16.0	731	25.0	129	4.7
Ludlow	268	23.1	83.2	16.8	223	19.2	45	3.9
Condover	556	34.2	84.2	15.8	468	28.8	88	5.4
Ford	457	23.1	86.9	13.1	397	20.1	60	3.0
Constituent parishes								
Urban ps	649	15.6	71.0	29.0	461	11.1	188	4.5
Group I	374	19.1	84.5	15.5	316	17.6	58	3.0
Group II	332	24.1	85.5	14.5	284	20.6	48	3.5
Group III	663	26.8	85.1	14.9	564	22.8	99	4,0
Group IV	458	26.0	79.2	20.8	363	20.6	95	5.4
Group V	564	34.7	81.9	19.1	462	28.4	102	6.3
Total 60 ps	3040	22.8	80.6	19.4	2450	18.4	590	4.4
10% Sample Rural Shropshire								
Gp I Lowland	348	21.4	85.9	14.1	299	18.4	49	3.0
Upland	106	14.3	80.2	19.8	85	11.5	21	2.8
Total	454	19.2	84.6	15.1	384	16.3	70	3.0
Gp II Lowland	152	23.9	85.5	14.5	130	20.4	22	3.5
Upland	59	17.8	67.8	32.2	40	12.0	19	5.7
Total	211	21.8	80.6	19.4	170	17.5	41	4.2
Gp III Lowland	106	50.8	85.8	14.2	91	35.0	15	5.8
Upland	87	31.1	90.8	9.2	79	28.5	8	2.9
Total	193	35.7	88.1	11.9	170	31.5	23	4.3
Gp IV Lowland	147	34.8	77.6	22.2	114	27.0	33	7.8
Upland	142	30.6	85.9	14.1	122	26.3	20	4.3
Total	289	33.8	81.7	18.3	236	27.6	53	6.2
Gp V Lowland	125	48.6	85.6	14.4	107	41.6	18	7.0
Upland	134	41.1	81.3	18.7	109	33.4	25	7.7
Total	259	43.6	83.3	16.7	216	36.4	43	7.3
11 Lowland ps	878	27.3	84.3	15.7	741	23.1	137	4.3
12 Upland ps	528	24.7	84.3	15.7	445	20.3	93	4.3
Total Sample	1406	26.3	84.3	15.7	1176	22.0	230	4.3

Source: Mss and transcribed registers of Shropshire parishes in SRO.

three occasions are more than 20 per cent of the entries for brides - in Wenlock, Group IV and in the urban parishes in the hundreds and boroughs sample. These anomalies arise largely because of the high level of such entries in the parish of Broseley. Elsewhere the records are uniformly below this threshold.

Ravenstein (1885, 1889) proposed as his sixth law of migration that females were more migratory than males and this has recently been confirmed by Grigg (1977). It is therefore surprising that more women did not choose to marry in the places where they were employed, but rather preferred to return to their home parish. This might conceivably indicate that girls, frequently employed in domestic service, more readily obtained local settlement rights accepted by the cleric and thus no declaration was made. Alternatively, it could imply that customary behaviour was so ingrained that the choice of parish of solemnisation was pre-determined. Let the difference, the sex-specificity of the marriage record, at this stage, simply stand as an important empirical regularity.

There is no evidence to suggest that such a regularity showed any marked variation in different areas or in parishes of contrasting size. No correlation of significance exists in either sample between the proportion of extraparochial brides and the parish demographic rank which might indicate a structural control on these proportions. However, when these entries are considered as a proportion of all brides in each sub-sample, while little variation is evident between the hundreds and boroughs, or between upland and lowland areas, the proportion does increase down the demographic hierarchy. This confirms the association found earlier for all extraparochial entries and suggest that levels of exogamy for both sexes are closely related to parish size.

The relative independence of the record of extraparochial brides is not easy to explain. Two contrasting sets of associations might have been anticipated on <u>a priori</u> grounds. Firstly, it might have been

expected that the proportions of extraparochial brides might have increased through the settlement hierarchy as social control changed. Thus the larger places, attracting more women into employment prior to marriage, might equally have recorded more extraparochial marriages from this group. This finds limited support in the urban parishes in this sample where levels are higher, but there is no progression in these proportions at other levels in the hierarchy. Secondly, it could be argued that as in-service farm employment for women characterised the employment records of the smaller parishes, then the contractual obligations of such service and the limited accessibility of countryside parishes might have prevented the possibility of women returning home to marry. This would increase the proportions of extraparochial associations in smaller places. There is little evidence to support this second proposition. The pattern therefore must reflect customary pressure. The variations in proportions must represent deviations from a traditional norm, relatively constant, but unpredictable in terms of their precise magnitude.

To ignore the fact that the marriage register contains two different types of entry would be both unrealistic and unwise: consequently in the analysis which follows, reference will be made to the origins of both brides and grooms, even though the latter dominate the record.

A variety of approaches is available to help unravel the spatial characteristics of these extraparochial marriages. In this study, attention initially concentrates simply on the crude marriage distance. This is defined as the euclidean distance between the parish churches of the stated parish of origin and the known parish of solemnisation. Although this direct association of linkage between places is far from certain and many alternative patterns of contact could have created the actual marriage, this type of direct interpretation is all that the record allows. Consequently, at this stage, speculation on alternatives seems unnecessary. The prime purpose of this analysis is to define the

character and dimensions of marriage horizons in the sample parishes from 1754-1810.

It proved impossible to trace a limited number of the extraparochial entries in both samples. In the five hundreds and boroughs, of the 3040 marriages involving a non-local partner 25 could not be located - 21 of the grooms and four of the brides. In the rural parish sample, where 1406 extraparochial liaisons were solemnised, eleven proved impossible to trace - ten from grooms and one for brides. Marriage distances could therefore be computed for the majority of all associations and the limited loss of entries says much for the honesty of the declarations which were made.

Three factors produced the omissions. Illegibility, poor, probably phonetic, spelling by the incumbent and the occasional fabrication of a place of settlement by the parties to matrimony, made certain entries impossible to trace. The small numbers lost for these reasons leave an adequate number in both samples from which to gain an impression of the spatial range of marital choice for both brides and grooms.

Table 4.2 documents the mean marriage distances and other descriptive statistics for the two samples, while the actual distance-decay profiles are presented for both brides and grooms in Figures 4.1-4.4. The immediate impression gained from the diagrams is the extreme localisation of the selection of partners, with the majority of spouses stating origins less than 10 kilometres from their parish of solemnisation and very few drawn from further afield. Nonetheless, some differences do exist and these are worthy of comment.

The regional sample indicates some similarities and contrasts between each hundred and borough. The most extensive marriage horizon for both brides and grooms is evident in Ludlow, but the remaining four areas are reasonably similar in their dimensions. Modal distances are low and this is reflected in equally low median values (<10 km. 6.7 miles) for all groups except Ludlow grooms. A comparable localisation is apparent for

Table 4.2 Marriage distances in the sample parishes 1754-1810

	GROOMS				BRIDES			
Regional sample	n	md.	mode	median	n	md.	mode	median
Wenlock	624	15.1	2	6	256	8.8	2	5
Munslow	726	13.8	4	8	137	8.8	4	7
Ludlow	219	34.2	4	17	45	19.1	4	10
Condover	466	13.3	4	6	88	9.5	4	5
Ford	394	12.6	5	8	60	10.3	5	7
Constituent parishes								
Urban ps	456	26.6	3	11	187	9.7	3	4
Group I	315	14.4	5	10	58	10.8	5	7
Group II	281	18.4	4	9	47	14.7	4	7
Group III	561	15.1	4	8	97	8.5	5	5
Group IV	362	11.0	5	6	94	8.5	2	5
Group V	456	11.2	4	5	102	7.9	3&4	5
Total 60 ps	2429	16.3	5	7	586	9.9	5	5
10% Sample Rural Shropshire								
Gp I Lowland	298	17.2	5	11	49	16.8	6	9
Upland	85	17.4	10	10	21	10.7	5	6
Total	383	17.2	5	10	70	14.9	5	7
Gp II Lowland	128	9.7	5	7	22	5.9	3&5	5
Upland	39	20.2	8	9	19	9.2	8&10	8
Total	167	12.2	5	8	41	7.4	5	6
Gp III Lowland	91	9.6	3	6	15	10.8	3	6.5
Upland	78	19.8	5	9	8	7.9	5	5.5
Total	169	14.2	5	7	23	10.6	5	6
Gp IV Lowland	112	16.6	3	8	32	18.5	3	6
Upland	122	19.1	3	6	20	12.2	5	6
Total	234	17.9	3	7	52	16.0	3	5
Gp V Lowland	105	9.9	6	6	18	6.8	3	5.5
Upland	108	9.9	3&4	7	25	6.3	2	4
Total	213	9.8	4	7	43	6.5	3	4
11 Lowland ps	734	13.8	6	8	136	13.5	3	6
12 Upland ps	432	16.6	5	8	93	9.2	5	6
Total Sample	1166	14.8	5	8	229	11.7	3	6

Source: Mss and transcribed registers of the sample parishes. Marriage distance (md) is the euclidean distance in kilometres between the parish churches of the stated parish of origin and the known parish of solemnisation.

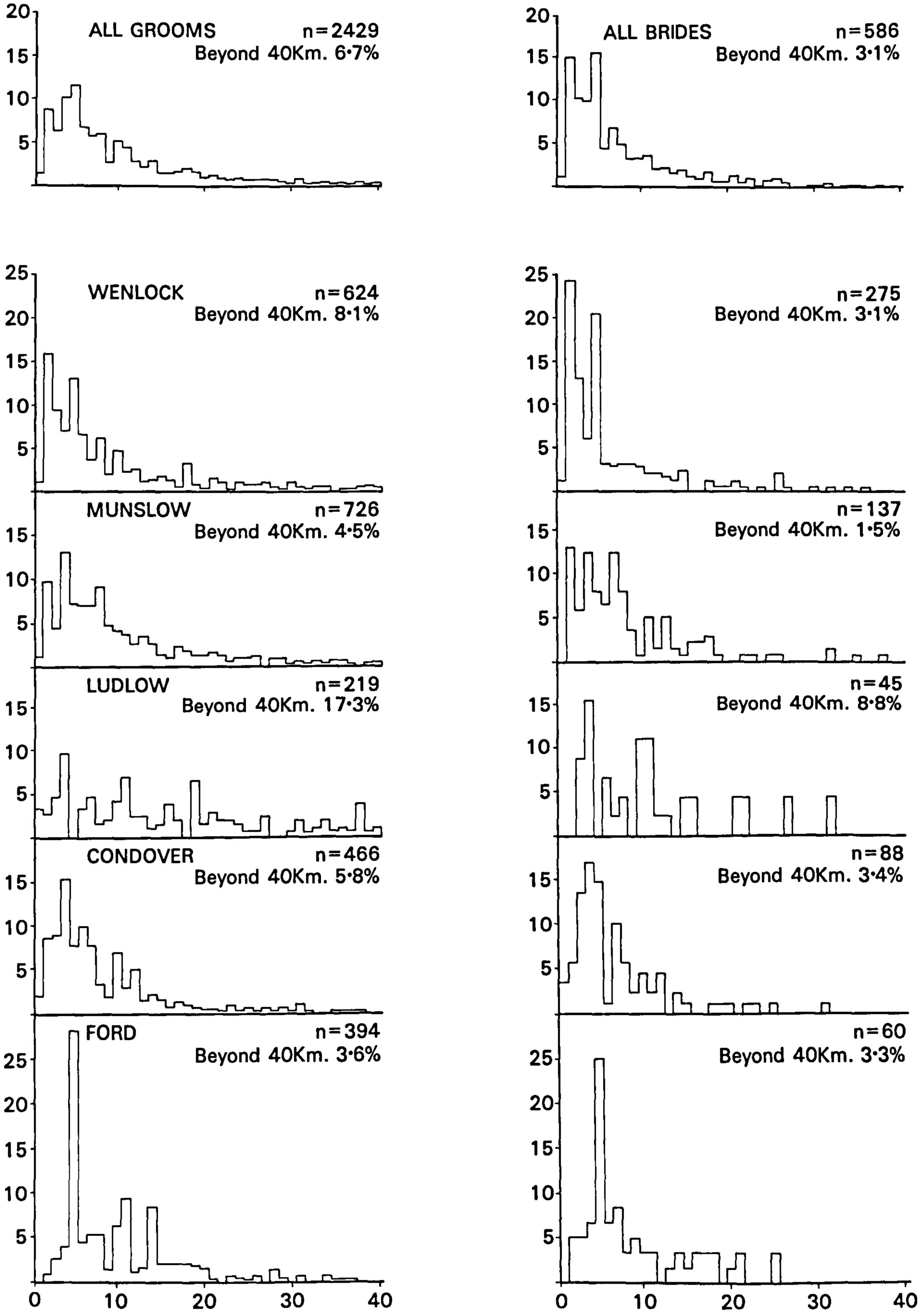


Figure 4.1 Marriage distances in the five hundreds and boroughs 1754-1810.

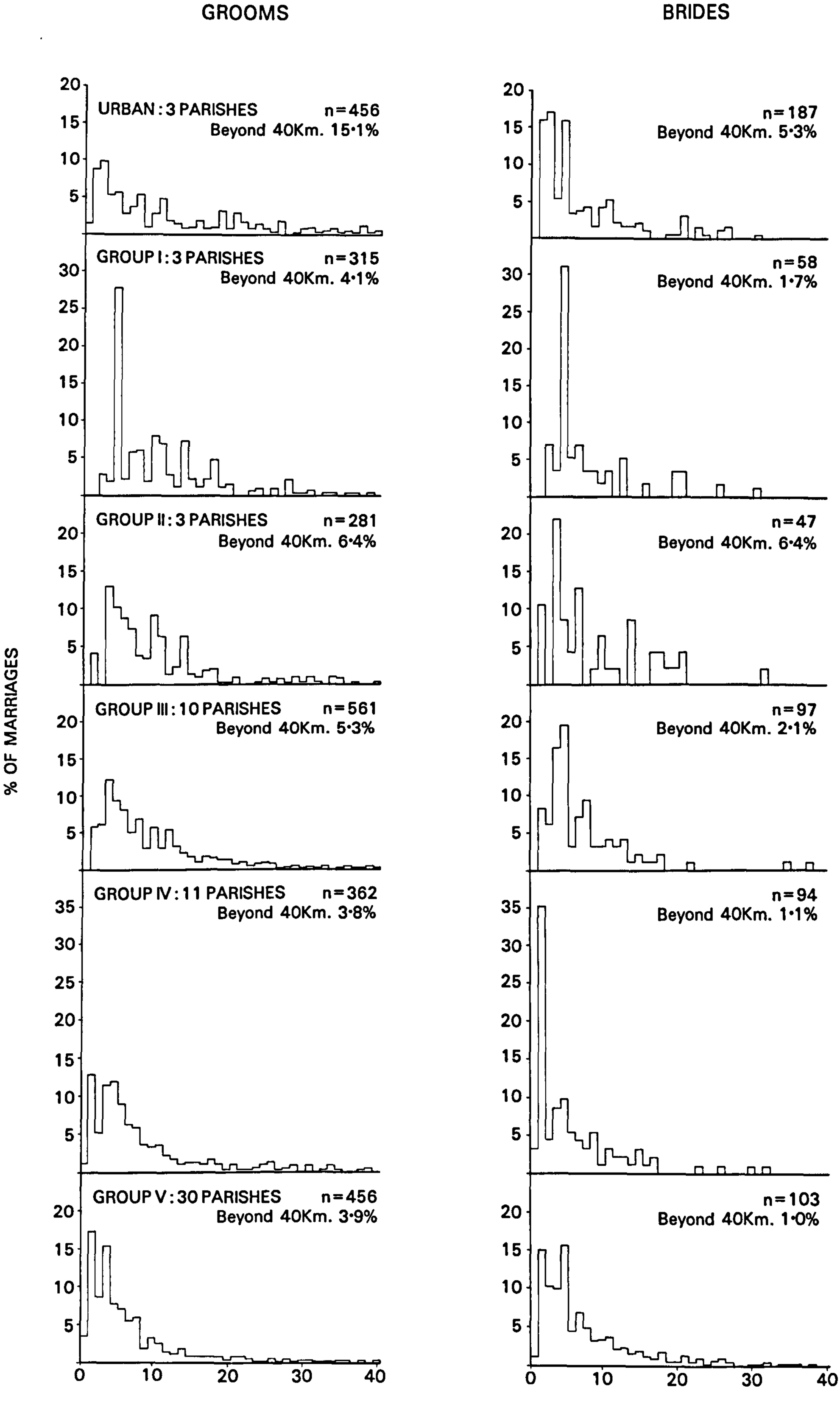


Figure 4.2 Marriage distances in the constituent parishes of the five hundreds and boroughs 1754-1810.

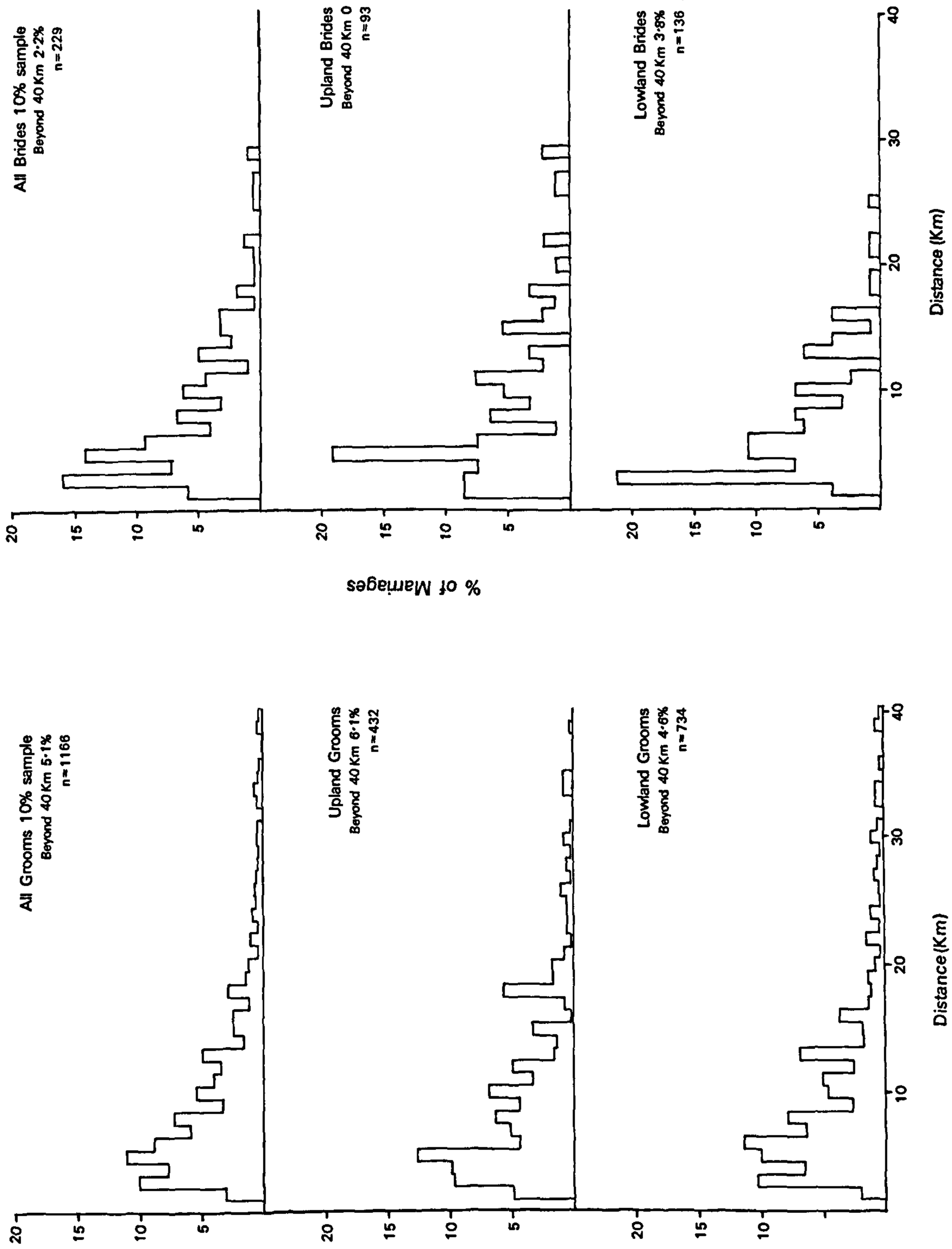


Figure 4.3 Marriage distances for extraparochial brides and grooms in the rural sample and in upland and lowland parishes 1754-1810.

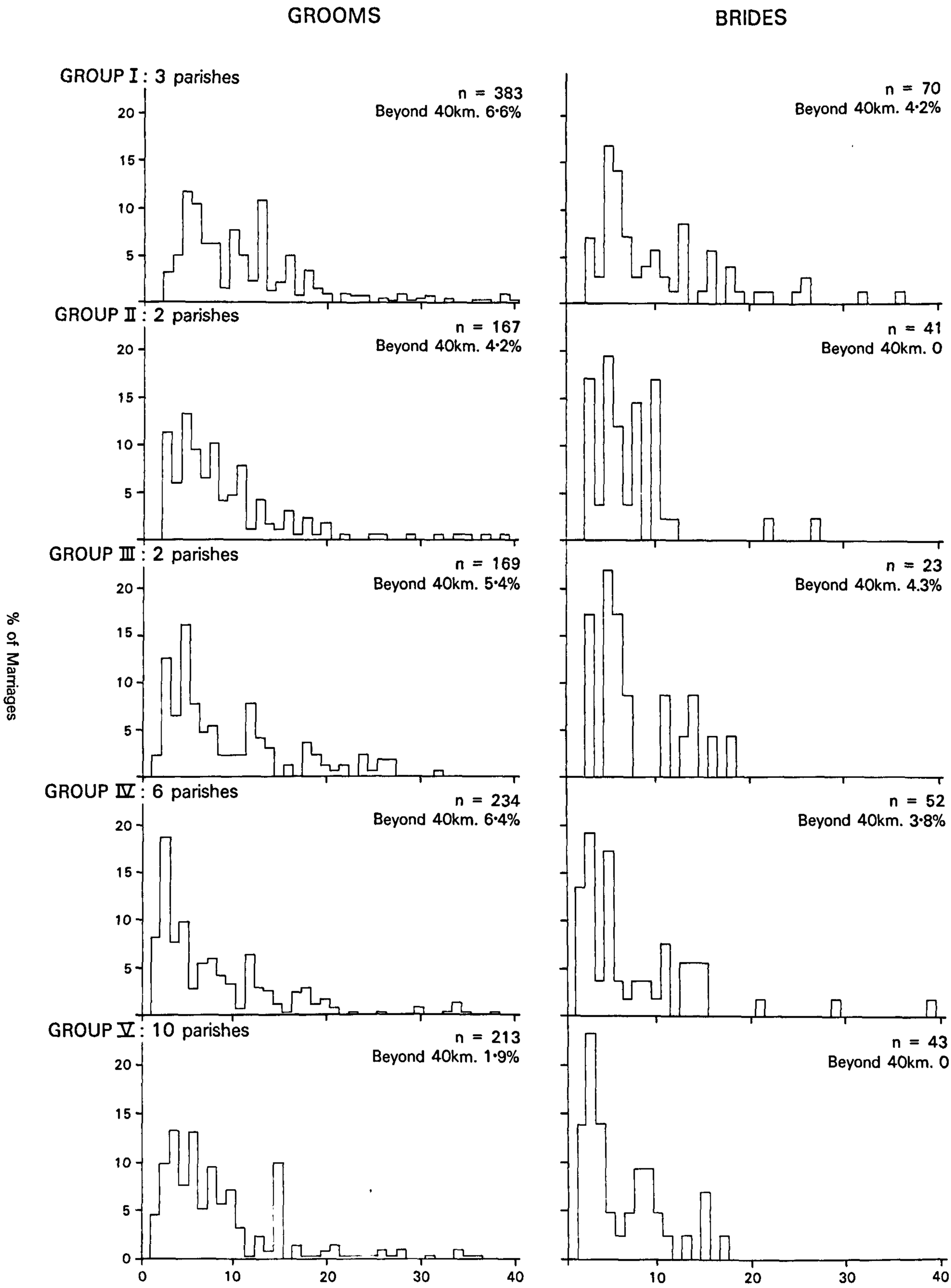


Figure 4.4 Marriage distances for the constituent parishes in the rural sample.

the constituent parishes in terms of modal and median distances, but the mean distance and median values decrease down the parish rank hierarchy. Thus urban parishes and those in Group II have longer mean distances than other groupings for grooms, though this characteristic does not emerge for brides. This is more noticeably reflected in the proportions of entries recorded at distances beyond 40 km., where population rank is clearly influential in the level of longer distance association.

Very little difference in profile, mean, modal or median distance, exists between the regional sample and that drawn from the parishes of rural Shropshire and similar internal regularities are apparent. Some variation is evident in the mean distances for upland and lowland parishes, but the modal and median values are comparable for both brides and grooms. At all scales fewer brides come from more distant parishes. The parish groupings provide some evidence of variation in marriage horizons as population rank and size decrease.

For the rural sample all places manage to find at least 50 per cent of their exogamous partners within 10 km.. However median values show a progressive decrease as places down the settlement hierarchy are considered. The same consistency is not evident in the modal and mean values, with Group I and IV having larger fields for both brides and grooms. On all occasions, marriage horizons are more extensive for upland grooms, though no comparable consistency exists in the bridal record. Given the findings in Chapter Three which suggested that exogamy was less frequent in upland than lowland parishes, it is of interest that the more limited proportions did not constrain the marriage horizons of grooms within those parishes. Indeed upland grooms are drawn from further afield than extraparochial grooms in lowland parishes. This is the reverse of findings in other studies (Peel 1942, Constant 1948).

One final point can be made from this Table concerning the dimensions of sex-specific mobility. In both data sets, with few exceptions, mean,

modal and median marriage distances for brides are lower than the equivalent figures for grooms. This may partly reflect the smaller samples involved, but seems to indicate also that the effect of distance on behaviour is modified by sex. If customary practice were irrelevant to the marriage record and the contrast between the sexes arose from under-registration of extraparochial origins, then it might be expected that the marriage distances might be directly comparable. This is clearly not the case. In all lowland parishes in the rural sample, there is very little difference in the statistics between brides and grooms; the same is not true in upland parishes or in the other disaggregations. As extra-parochial brides are adopting non-customary behaviour, the shorter distances imply that this has little to do with a distance constraint and is probably influenced by other more personal factors.

The conclusions which can be drawn from these data suggest that in most parishes, whatever their size, marriage horizons were extremely localised for a significant proportion of the minority group who selected extraparochial partners. This localisation is clearly reflected in the steep distance decay gradients in the diagrams. Some regional contrasts exist in these profiles, with wider horizons characteristic in Ludlow. This arises primarily because that borough is a free-standing market town with wide regional associations. Its position within the settlement hierarchy is a prime controlling factor on the dimensions of the marriage field, a point confirmed by the disaggregations on the basis of parish size.

In both samples, median marriage distances decline down the settlement hierarchy, though the modal and mean values show no comparable progression. No absolute regularity exists in these statistics at a parish group level though in the rural sample significant correlations exist between both the mean distances for grooms ($R_s = 0.5281$ S 0.01) and those for brides ($R_s = 0.6012$ S 0.01) and the population rank of the parish. This suggests that as parish rank increases so too do marriage distances.

It therefore appears that in those parishes where exogamy was least important, marriage horizons were far more extensive, while in those where far more partners to matrimony were found outside the parish the majority came from nearby places. Finally, the record of extraparochial brides indicates that the women practicing non-customary marriage solemnisation, did so independently of any absolute distance constraint.

The similarities which emerge from the descriptive statistics in terms of marriage horizons are relevant, but they are restricted in their terms of reference. It is useful to consider alongside them the overall distance-decay profiles in Figures 4.1-4.4. Certain visual differences are apparent in these diagrams and the significance of these requires assessment.

Taylor (1975) has provided a methodology for examining distance-decay profiles and distinguishing between what he terms 'real' and 'abstract' interaction fields. The former describe what occurs in reality, as in these diagrams; the latter involve transformation of the actual pattern into an abstract space in which opportunities at different distances from a nodal point are equalised. The discussion which follows focuses on real rather than abstract transformations of the profiles.

It is perhaps appropriate to consider briefly some of the differences between the two methodologies. Historians and historical demographers have invariably discussed distance-decay characteristics in real terms (Maltby 1969, 1971) as did the early geographical workers on this problem (Peel 1942, Constant 1948). In so doing, they have commented on the actual linkages at specific distances, even though as distances increases so do the number of potential linkage points. The acceptance of such a methodology hinges on intent. Their aim has only been to describe the pattern of association rather than to argue that distance per se controls it. In contrast, some geographers handling the same data have sought to emphasise the control of distance and therefore standardised and transformed

the data to create abstract distance decay profiles on isotropic plains (Taylor 1975, Morrill and Pitts 1966, Perry 1969, Ogden 1973, Dennis 1977).

It is argued that only by standardising the data on an areal or population basis for successive distance bands, can effective and accurate comparisons be drawn which control for the impact of a varying spatial structure and increasing opportunity sets. Such standardisation can generate fresh insights (Ogden 1973), but is inevitably difficult to achieve for the eighteenth century where no population data are available. To have recourse to a standardisation practice based on area alone (Cole and King 1968 p 503-507), simply intensifies the distance decay profile and does little to change the descriptive statistics. It therefore seems inappropriate, particularly when the intent is not to generate nomothetic statements, or to examine the importance of distance alone as a control.

Once data are standardised, the usual practice is to transform them using one of a series of procedures to obtain the best linear fit of the interaction profile (Taylor 1975). Such transformations place different degrees of constraint on the impact of distance and are manipulative and descriptive rather than explanatory. Best fit solutions may also restrict comparison. The derivation of correlation coefficients also provides useful summary statistics of the relationship between interaction and distance as do the regression parameters : while such approaches are interesting, they are not the route chosen in this discussion, which adopts a more straightforward consideration of real interaction fields.

Real interaction fields can be assessed in crude terms by employing a Kolmogorov Smirnov two sample test on the cumulated frequencies of marriage at particular distance intervals. The characters of such profiles are present in Figures 4.5-4.6 for the hundred and borough sample. The heavy positive skew and negative trend of marriage frequency and distance means that differences in the initial phases of the distribution

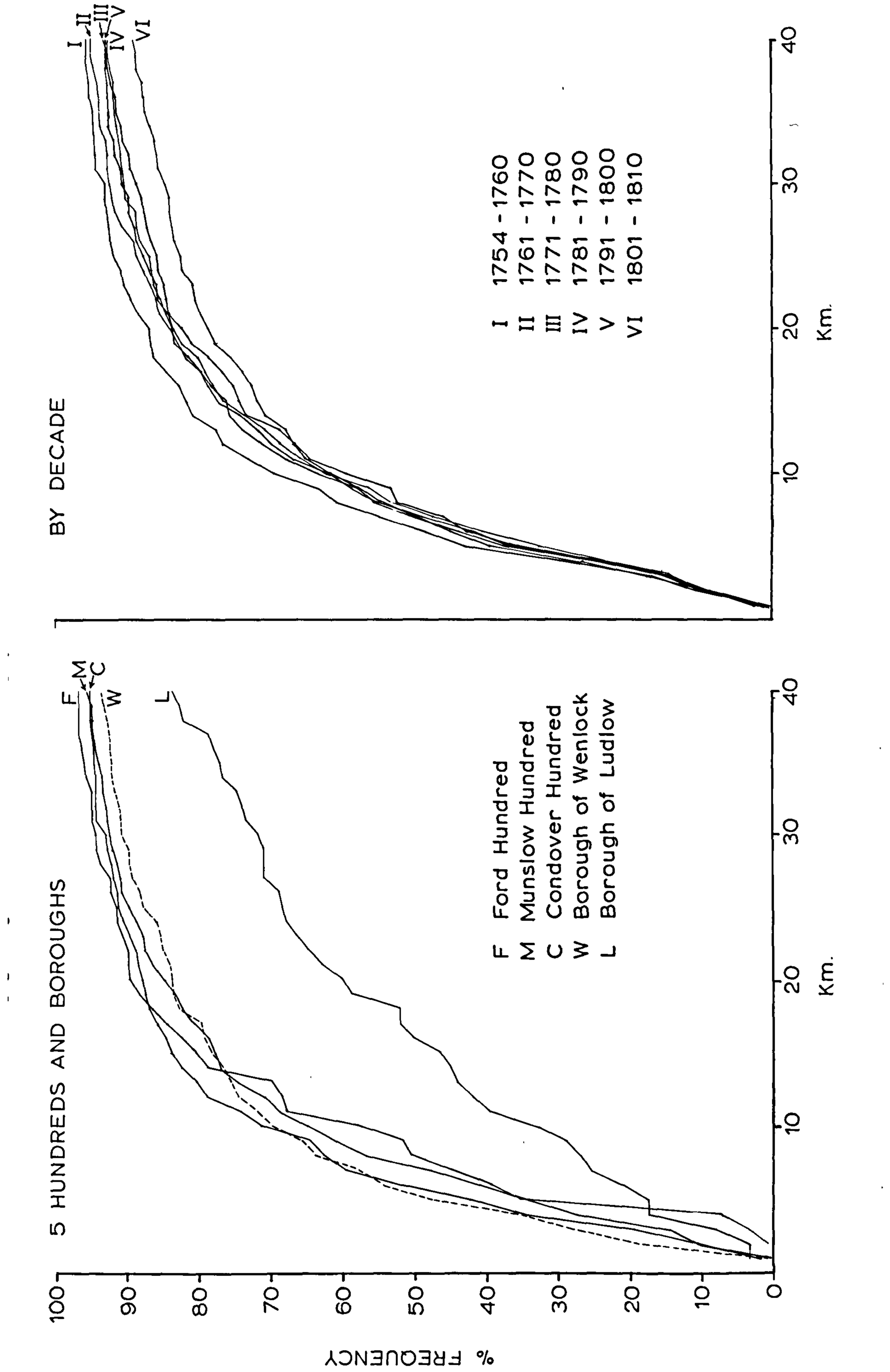


Figure 4.5 Cumulative frequency curves of marriage distances for extraparochial grooms in the hundreds and boroughs sample.

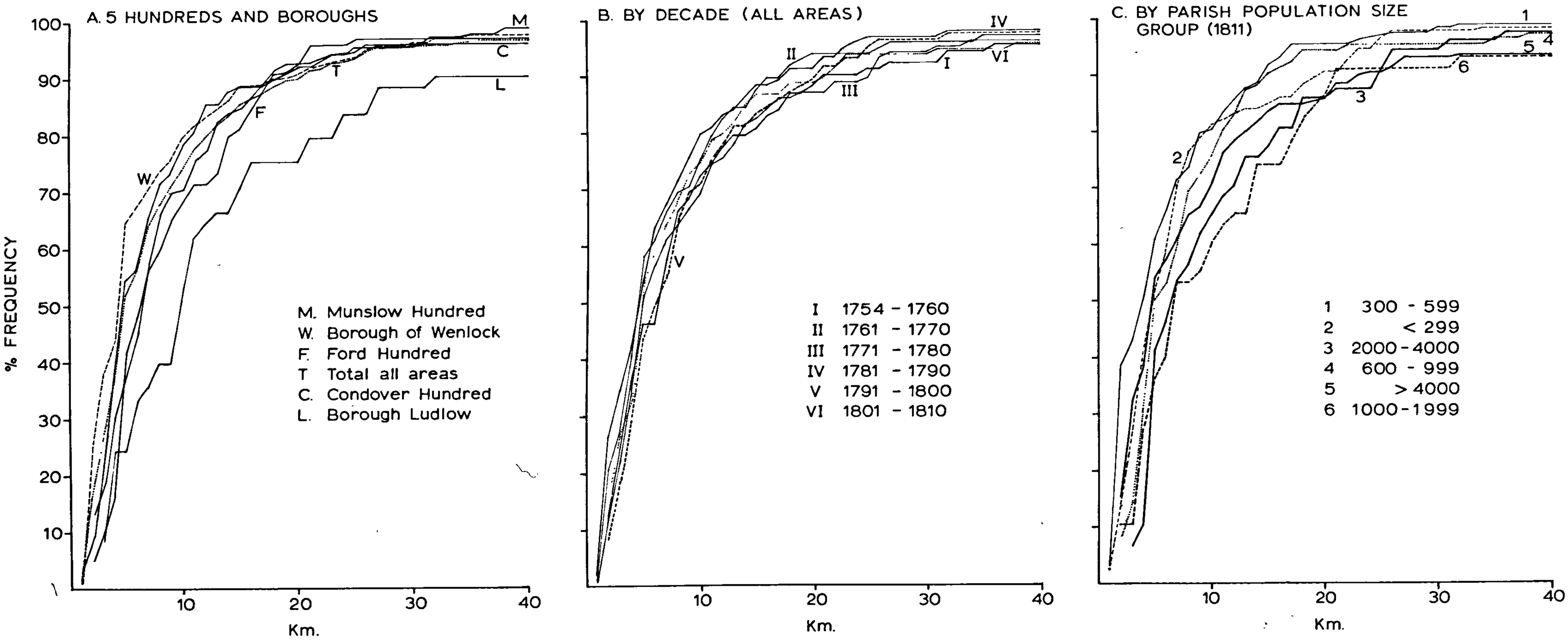


Figure 4.6 Cumulative frequency curves of marriage distances for extraparochial brides in the hundreds and boroughs sample.

are emphasised and isolated in the testing for similarities and differences. This applies whatever procedures is adopted, but is an important caveat in unstandardised interaction data. This test is used here as a guide to relationships, rather than as a test on which absolute assertions of contrasts or similarities are presented. The discussion is most usefully partitioned by considering the records for extraparochial grooms and brides separately for the regional and rural sample, with a subsequent comparison of the sex-specific distance decay profiles.

II : Extraparochial Grooms

In the regional sample, as might have been anticipated, significant differences in the form of the distance decay profiles exist between some of the hundreds and boroughs. The profile for Ludlow differs significantly from all others at 0.01; that of the borough of Wenlock differs from Ford and Munslow at 0.05, but is considered similar to Condover's contact profile. Both of these show contacts over a more extensive area, while Ford, Munslow and Condover have reasonably similar, more localised profiles, although Condover's is judged to differ from that of Ford (Table 4.3). This would suggest that variations in marriage distances do exist between areas, with the records of the market town, Ludlow, and those of the borough of Wenlock, being more extensive and with the three hundreds dominated by agriculture showing some conformity. These differences may, in part, be attributable to the number and rank of the returning parishes in each administrative area.

When the distance-decay profiles for the constituent parish population groupings in these areas are assessed the distinctiveness of marriage linkages in the demographically larger urban parishes emerges. The urban parishes differ from all others in the form of their distance decay profiles. Groups I, II and III have identical profiles and form a

second category. Group IV is considered not significantly different from III, but differs at 0.05 from Group V, while this last group differs significantly from all others (Table 4.4). There appears therefore to be a gradation of profile associated with rank in the settlement hierarchy. It is not exactly co-terminus with the groupings used in this survey, but it does still emerge. These structural controls (parish rank and size) may well play a part in determining the contrast between hundreds and boroughs.

In the sample parishes drawn from rural Shropshire, the records for grooms are less distinctive, but do partially support the findings from the regional sample. No difference can be established at 0.05 between the marriage distance profiles of grooms in the upland and lowland sub-samples. It therefore appears that relative location in relief terms played little part in shaping distance-decay profiles when the parish population groupings are aggregated by region. This similarity between the two relief regions is confirmed when the profiles for each grouping are compared. Only in Group V can a difference be established in the marriage distance profile of grooms between the areas (Od = 0.2061 CV 0.05 = 0.1863 S). In other groupings the profiles are judged not to differ. Relief appears to have little influence on the contact distances of extraparochial grooms.

The distance-decay profiles for each parish grouping do show some gradation. For the total rural sample, Group I parishes have significantly different interaction profiles from all smaller places at better than 0.05 Interestingly, with the exception of Group II, the difference is better than 0.01 (Table 4.5). No other profiles differ at a significant level and are therefore judged similar. This is confirmed in the upland and lowland sub-samples. In the upland sample, Groups I and II differ from Groups IV and V at 0.05, but are similar to Group III, which in turn is not different from the smaller places. This implies a progression

Table 4.3 Observed differences in the cumulated distance-decay profiles of extraparochial grooms 1754-1810 in five hundreds and boroughs in Shropshire

	n	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover	Ford
Wenlock	624	-				
Munslow	726	0.1160*	-			
Ludlow	219	0.3630**	0.3230**	-		
Condover	466	0.0790	0.0640	0.3870**	-	
Ford	394	0.1040*	0.0700	0.3390**	0.1340**	-

Kolmogorov Smirnov two sample test ** S 0.01
* S 0.05

Table 4.4 Observed differences in the cumulated distance-decay profiles of extraparochial grooms 1754-1810 in the constituent parishes of five hundreds and boroughs

	n	Urban ps	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Urban ps	456	-					
Gp I	315	0.2300**	-				
Gp II	281	0.2160**	0.0500	-			
Gp III	561	0.2140**	0.0420	0.0600	-		
Gp IV	362	0.2280**	0.1330**	0.1450**	0.0850	-	
Gp V	456	0.2670**	0.1940**	0.2440**	0.1840**	0.0990*	-

Table 4.5 Observed differences in the cumulated distance-decay profiles of extraparochial grooms 1754-1810 in the constituent parishes of rural Shropshire sample

	n	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Gp I	383	-				
Gp II	167	0.1424*	-			
Gp III	169	0.1824**	0.0692	-		
Gp IV	234	0.2353**	0.1221	0.0529	-	
Gp V	213	0.2235**	0.0811	0.1256	0.0965	-

comparable with the regional sample. In lowland parishes, only Group I parishes differ from all others and the rest are judged similar. The implication from this analysis is that comparable interaction profiles and comparable hierarchical variation in them occurs between the two samples.

This is, in part, confirmed when comparisons are made between the hundreds and boroughs and the rural Shropshire sample for the marriage profiles of grooms in Groups I-V. The distance decay profiles show no significant difference between the two samples in Groups II, III and IV, but differences are established in Group I (Od = 0.1303 S 0.01) and V (Od = 0.1679 S 0.05). These two contrasts may arise from the emphasis in the regional sample on parishes lying within the upland zone, and when the upland profiles for Groups I and V are compared with the regional sample equivalents no difference can be identified. This should not be overemphasised, as certain parishes are held in common between the samples, and the differences could arise for a variety of reasons.

The overall record for grooms indicates that marriage distance profiles show some regional variation, with the widest marriage horizons characteristic in Ludlow and Wenlock. This appears to reflect variation in marriage horizons between the urban parishes and the smaller places and is confirmed in both samples. Wider marriage horizons were characteristic of the largest places, which, it should not be forgotten, had the smallest proportions of extraparochial marriages. No difference can be established between the distance decay profiles in upland and lowland environments and a uniform experience is evident in the marriage distance profiles in both settings.

III : Extraparochial Brides

The marriage distance profiles for extraparochial brides reveal some interesting similarities and contrasts. At a regional level the most distinctive profiles are again those for the boroughs of Wenlock and Ludlow. The former, narrower with a more dominant local emphasis,is in marked contrast to the more extensive field of the latter. This difference emerges in Table 4.6 with the profiles of distance-decay clearly recognised as contrasting at 0.01. Wenlock is also considered significantly different from Ford and Munslow, though not from Condover, while Ludlow differs from the latter but not from the other two areas.

The form of these profiles is difficult to explain. The hundreds and boroughs essentially divide into three categories with Wenlock and Ludlow forming the two extremes and the remaining areas an intervening group. The record for Ludlow appears visually similar to that for its grooms (Figures 4.5 and 4.6) and suggests that brides chose to marry in the market town in which they were employed, rather than return to their more distant home parishes. The Wenlock record, heavily influenced by the individual records of Broseley and Madeley (two coalfield towns), reflects a more local field, and yet non-customary marriage by extra-parochial brides still occurs. Distance, it could be suggested, plays no direct part in controlling the record by making it difficult for brides to return home to nearby parishes, for in many cases these are very near. It is more likely that local fashion in the choice of parish church on the coalfield produces this distinctive pattern of distance-decay. It may also arise from the relative social disorder generated by industrial development, which weakened the traditional practice of marriage by brides in their parish of origin/settlement. The other areas fall between these two extremes.

When this record is disaggregated into its constituent parish groupings there appears to be no significant difference, however, between any

Table 4.6 Observed differences in the cumulated distance-decay profiles of extraparochial brides 1754-1810 in five hundreds and boroughs in Shropshire

	n	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover	Ford
Wenlock	256	-				
Munslow	137	0.2500**	-			
Ludlow	45	0.4010**	0.1990	-		
Condover	88	0.0990	0.1510	0.3020*	-	
Ford	60	0.2280**	0.0360	0.1860	0.1010	-

Table 4.7 Observed differences in the cumulated distance-decay profiles of extraparochial brides 1754-1810 in the constituent parishes of the rural Shropshire sample

	n	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Gp I	70	-				
Gp II	41	0.2586	-			
Gp III	23	0.1216	0.2917	-		
Gp IV	52	0.2974**	0.2031	0.2243	-	
Gp V	43	0.2974*	0.1331	0.2771	0.1875	-

of the distance-decay profiles. Even the urban parish category, which combines the records of Ludlow, Broseley and Madeley, does not differ from any other grade of parish. This would suggest that the combination of these three distinctive profiles, produces an aggregate profile disguising real contrasts. Rather than over-elaborate this anomaly, it must be accepted, and may well arise from the small numbers of such marriages in each parish grouping.

In the rural parish sample, even fewer extraparochial brides are recorded and this makes testing the profiles a rather dubious exercise. No difference can be established between the upland and lowland distance-decay profiles at 0.05. For the total sample, the profile of Group I parishes does differ at 0.01 from those in Groups IV and V, but does not differ from the intervening parishes. None of the other parish groupings are identified as significantly different (Table 4.7). At this scale there are similarities therefore with the record for grooms. No differences are identified between the relief zones in the distance-decay profiles for any of the groups, and within-relief zone comparisons are not possible for brides. The limited evidence indicates that only in lowland parishes did the larger places attract extraparochial brides from greater distances. In the upland parishes, the records are all highly comparable for each parish population grouping. No difference can be established between the distance-decay profiles for brides between the samples. This similarity is evident in the aggregated records for both samples and in comparing the profiles for Groups I-V.

With the exception of the regional contrasts in the hundreds and boroughs sample and the limited evidence of hierarchical contrasts in the rural parish sample, the records of the extraparochial brides are remarkably similar. They do not differ greatly from each other and yet the similarities which do emerge suggest associations highly comparable with those revealed in the record of origins of extraparochial grooms. Sex-specific contrasts in distance-decay profiles therefore seem worthy of examination.

IV A comparison of extraparochial brides and grooms : some conclusions

At an aggregate level in both samples the distance-decay profiles of brides and grooms are judged to differ significantly, though the contrast is less marked in the rural parish sample (Hundreds and Boroughs Od = 0.1430 S 0.01 Rural parishes Od = 0.1032 S 0.05). This distinction between the sexes also occurs in the lowland sub-sample (Od = 0.1377 S 0.05), but not in the upland sample, nor is there any significant contrast in the marriage distance profiles between the sexes at the parish population group level. The distance-decay profiles in the sample of parishes from rural Shropshire are remarkably similar in general form.

More variation is apparent within the regional sample. Wenlock (Od = 0.1880 S 0.01) and Ludlow (Od = 0.2450 S 0.05) both have sex-specific contrasts which are significant, as do the urban parishes (Od = 0.2710 S 0.01), Group III (Od = 0.1495 S 0.05) and Group IV parishes (Od = 0.1900 S 0.01). The small size of many of the samples for brides on which the comparisons are based makes it difficult to assess these results.

In rural parishes, it is conceivable that the constraint of service employment and non-local residence might make the profiles comparable between the sexes. However in this group, sample size is low. In the regional sample, where the numbers of such marriages for brides are greater, more variation is apparent; but even here there is no obvious interpretation. In both Ludlow and Wenlock, the bridal distance curves (Figures 4.5 and 4.6) are more localised than the equivalents for grooms. This suggests that there is a contrast in the impact of distance on the choice of the place of solemnisation of marriage. This type of contrast is also evident in the urban parishes and Groups III and IV (Table 4.2). In all cases where differences exist they are reflected in the mean distances and median values in that Table. Where similarities exist these are also reflected in highly comparable descriptive parameters.

The conclusion must be that while for the samples as a whole and for certain sub-samples of parishes it is reasonable to recognise contrasts in the distances from which extraparochial brides and grooms were drawn, this contrast is not always maintained in consideration of less-aggregated units where sample size is small. Only further work on larger data sets could amplify this statement. In general, it does appear that extraparochial brides come from parishes less distant than extraparochial grooms and that a variety of forces may have shaped such non-customary behaviour.

This analysis of the marriage distances for the two samples from 1754-1810 leads to a number of conclusions about marriage horizons. These can be conveniently summarised at this stage.

1. The exogamous record in all parish registers is heavily biased to the entry of extraparochial grooms. This pattern recurs in all the hundreds and boroughs, their constituent parishes and in the records for the rural parish sample. No structural explanation can be found to explain this bias. It is therefore assumed to arise primarily because of the customary practice of women to marry in their home parishes.

2. The proportions of extraparochial brides and grooms increase as the demographic rank of a parish decreases. These sex-specific trends match those recorded in Chapter Three for the total pattern of exogamy.

3. The spatial extent of extraparochial choice is, for the majority very limited. Median marriage fields range from 8-10 km. in radius and decrease down the settlement hierarchy. Marriage horizons show some variation between hundreds and boroughs, with the most extensive fields characteristic of Ludlow and Wenlock and smaller, more limited fields occurring in the agricultural hundreds. This is echoed in wider horizons in the urban parishes and a gradual decrease in the dimensions of the field to the smallest parishes.

4. Marriage fields show some differences between the upland and lowland parishes in the rural sample, with the grooms in the upland relief zone originating from parishes further afield than their lowland counterparts. This is at odds with findings available for other areas.

5. Marriage horizons show some differences between the sexes, with brides originating from shorter distances than grooms. This would suggest that distance alone did not determine the decision of a women to marry outside her home parish. Sex-specific contrasts in distance-decay profiles are not sustained for all sub-samples due, in part, to the relatively small sample size for extraparochial brides in many groups.

The overall impression from these aggregate characteristics of marriage horizons is of their regularity. This is expressed in the relative uniformity of the scale of interaction in all places. Certainly differences do exist. These relate to structural controls such as the demographic rank of the parish, and this, in turn, is in many ways a surrogate measure of economy. The process is not however straightforward, as contrasting economies exist in place of comparable size and a uniform economic structure can exist in parishes of very different population numbers. Thus differences exist between Ludlow, a market town, and the industrial towns of Broseley and Madeley, while in parishes categorised in Groups I-V, where agrarian employment dominates all places, variations also emerge. Economy alone therefore is not the sole control on the distance from which partners were selected.

This discussion of marriage distances has concentrated on real interaction fields, which, by their nature, ignore any variation that might be in-built into the analysis through variations in the underlying spatial structure.The commonalities which emerge indicate that spatial structure on its own plays a minor part in controlling distance-decay profiles. If spatial structure were important then all descriptive statistics and decay profiles would probably be contrasting. This is not

the case. Irrespective of the location of a parish or group of parishes common features emerge, suggesting a highly localised and regular search pattern. The fact that the dimensions of the search for spouses varied between places of different size reflects their position within the settlement hierarchy rather than their relative location.

Chapter 5 Extraparochial marriage : the patterns of spatial association

The dimensions of marriage horizons from 1754-1810 suggest that for the majority of the population of any parish they were extremely local, indeed most marriages were contracted between partners declaring residence in the same parish. As the size of the community decreased, so the numbers marrying partners from other parishes increased, but even with this increase the selection process took place in a very limited geographical area. Longer distance marriage linkages were more characteristic of the larger communities, where levels of exogamy were lower, and in the smallest centres where exogamy was greater outside choice was far more localised. At all scales in the system, distance appears to operate as a major constraint on interaction, suggesting extremely limited patterns of territorial mobility.

These aggregate regularities, with their emphasis on euclidean patterns of association, form an appropriate starting point in the analysis of extraparochial marriage selection. They do, however, ignore the patterns of spatial association which create such distance-decay relationships. No distinction can be drawn in the analysis as to whether they describe links with adjacent parishes, with parishes of comparable economic structure, or whether they are made up of links with urban and industrial areas. Knowledge of the structure of these associations is critical if an explanation is to be developed in terms that are fuller than simply those of distance-minimisation.

Three themes seem worthy of further exploration. Firstly, it is necessary to make an assessment of the relative importance of spatial contiguity in marriage choice. This focusses specifically on the selection of partners from adjacent parishes, and emphasises the control of proximity and distance-minimisation on the satisfaction of demand. It is

important because it illustrates the theme developed by Holderness of the parish records as a catalogue of the areas within which people 'milled about' (1970 p 451). Parish populations were far from stable, as most listings indicate (Laslett and Harrison 1963, Schofield 1971a) and it seems probable that families moved between adjacent parishes and that marriage choice would therefore reflect this process.

Secondly, it is necessary to study the forces that control the wider patterns of spatial association within and beyond the county. Here two ideas need some examination. Youngmen and women might choose to move from their home communities to work in similar parishes, and in so doing meet and marry: alternatively, employment opportunities might be sought in parishes very different from those of birth or settlement. Thus moves might be made from countryside to town and this could be reflected in the level of urban contact recorded for extraparochial entries. In the first case, linkages reflect lateral movement and in the second, vertical movement through the settlement system. The emphasis on each of these two alternatives may well have varied in parishes of contrasting rank and location, as their own economy and geographical position would modify the view held of outside employment opportunities and alternatives. It may also have varied in the consideration of opportunities within and outside the county.

Finally, it is instructive to examine the actual urban centres which provided marriage partners. The specification of these in <u>place</u> terms adds to the previous discussion and provides a geographical perspective on the direction and character of urban associations, which contribute to the aggregate distance-decay relationships discussed earlier.

I : The selection of adjacent parishes

When the marriage contacts are re-tabulated in descriptive classes, as in Tables 5.1 and 5.2, they illustrate that in most of the parishes a substantial proportion of contacts are with adjacent parishes. For convenience, this discussion is partitioned between the sexes, with separate consideration given to grooms and brides but their patterns are first compared.

Both samples show very high levels of contact with adjacent parishes. For grooms the regional sample (38.2 per cent) and rural sample (40.6 per cent) are very similar: extraparochial brides show higher proportions in the regional sample (46.6 per cent) which is judged to differ from the equivalent pattern for grooms (38.2 per cent) (X^2 = 13.88 S 0.001), however no significant difference is identified between the sexes in the rural sample, where 45.2 per cent of extraparochial brides and 40.6 per cent for grooms are from adjacent parishes.

The regional sample indicates significant contrasts in the selection of adjacent parishes between brides and grooms in the borough of Wenlock (X^2 = 17.90 S 0.001), in the urban parishes (X^2 = 66.22 S 0.01), and in parishes in Groups III and IV (III: X^2 = 7.87: IV: X^2 = 9.10 both S 0.01). On each of these occasions more extraparochial brides are drawn from adjacent parishes than grooms. Elsewhere the proportions are all considered similar. In the rural sample, no differences that are statistically significant can be identified between brides and grooms, either between upland or lowland parishes or between the groupings. On all but four occasions, more women than men come from adjacent parishes and these anomalies show no ordered pattern.

When the patterns for each sex are considered for each sample rather more contrasts emerge. The details for the regional sample are presented in Table 5.3: for grooms the number from adjacent parishes is most distinctive for Ludlow, which differs from all other areas by its low

Table 5.1 Origins of extraparochial grooms in the sample parishes 1754-1810

Régional sample

	n	Intra Co.	Inter Co.	Adjacent		Urban	
				n	%	n	%
Wenlock	631	531	100	247	39.1	297	47.1
Munslow	731	620	111	266	36.4	123	16.8
Ludlow	223	124	99	23	10.3	64	28.7
Condover	468	434	34	225	48.1	113	24.2
Ford	397	323	74	176	44.3	87	21.9
Constituent parishes							
Urban ps	461	304	157	109	23.6	204	44.2
Group I	316	274	42	123	38.9	92	29.1
Group II	286	216	70	114	39.9	72	25.2
Group III	558	498	60	212	37.9	137	24.6
Group IV	369	325	44	150	40.6	98	26.6
Group V	460	415	45	229	49.7	81	17.6
Total 60 ps	2450	2032	418	937	38.2	684	27.9
10% Sample Rural Shropshire							
Gp I Lowland	299	251	48	114	38.1	74	24.8
Upland	85	75	10	13	15.3	40	47.1
Total	384	326	58	127	33.1	114	29.7
Gp II Lowland	130	120	10	60	46.2	20	15.4
Upland	40	32	8	15	37.5	7	17.5
Total	170	152	18	75	44.1	27	15.9
Gp III Lowland	91	85	6	39	42.9	24	26.4
Upland	79	69	10	33	41.8	17	21.5
Total	170	154	16	72	42.4	41	24.1
Gp IV Lowland	114	93	21	48	51.6	49	43.0
Upland	122	85	37	48	39.3	22	18.0
Total	236	178	58	96	40.7	71	30.1
Gp V Lowland	107	95	12	51	47.7	28	26.2
Upland	109	92	17	52	47.7	17	15.6
Total	216	187	29	103	47.7	45	20.8
II Lowland ps	741	644	97	312	42.1	195	26.3
12 Upland ps	435	353	82	161	37.0	103	23.7
Total Sample	116	997	179	473	40.6	298	25.6

Source : Mss and transcribed registers of the sample parishes.

Table 5.2 Origins of extraparochial brides in the sample parishes 1754-1810

	n	Intra Co.	Inter Co.	Adjacent		Urban	
				n	%	n	%
Regional sample							
Wenlock	258	237	21	141	54.7	138	53.5
Munslow	139	124	15	55	39.6	30	21.6
Ludlow	45	32	13	8	17.8	8	17.8
Condover	88	86	2	40	45.5	9	10.2
Ford	60	52	8	31	51.7	9	15.0
Constituent parishes							
Urban ps	188	159	29	84	44.7	77	41.0
Group I	58	55	3	25	43.1	15	25.9
Group II	48	35	13	15	31.3	10	20.8
Group III	98	94	4	52	53.1	31	31.7
Group IV	95	90	5	55	57.9	48	50.5
Group V	103	98	5	44	42.7	13	12.6
Total 60 ps	590	531	59	275	46.6	194	32.8
10% Sample Rural Shropshire							
Gp I Lowland	49	42	7	22	44.9	12	24.5
Upland	21	20	1	4	19.1	8	38.1
Total	70	62	8	26	37.1	20	28.6
Gp II Lowland	22	22	-	13	59.1	3	13.6
Upland	19	18	1	10	52.6	7	36.8
Total	41	40	1	23	56.1	10	24.4
Gp III Lowland	15	14	1	5	33.3	3	20.0
Upland	8	8	-	5	62.5	1	12.5
Total	23	22	1	10	43.5	4	17.4
Gp IV Lowland	33	25	8	16	48.5	7	21.2
Upland	20	14	6	6	30.0	2	10.0
Total	53	39	14	22	41.5	9	17.0
Gp V Lowland	18	18	-	11	61.1	5	27.7
Upland	25	23	2	12	52.1	5	20.0
Total	43	41	2	23	53.4	10	23.3
II Lowland ps	137	121	16	67	48.9	30	21.9
12 Upland ps	93	83	10	37	39.8	23	24.7
Total Sample	230	204	26	104	45.2	53	23.0

Source : Mss and transcribed registers of the sample parishes.

Table 5.3 Regional variations in the levels of selection of adjacent parishes: (adjacent to non adjacent) - Chi-square values

	Brides				Grooms			
	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover
Wenlock	-				-			
Munslow	8.22**	-			1.09	-		
Ludlow	20.84***	7.17**	-		63.35***	55.02***	-	
Condover	2.23	0.77	9.88**	-	8.75**	16.12***	9.88**	-
Ford	0.18	2.50	12.65***	0.55	2.71	6.81	12.65***	1.20

Constituent parishes

	Brides					Grooms				
	U	I	II	III	IV	U	I	II	III	IV
U	-					-				
I	0.04	-				59.42***	-			
II	2.83	1.57	-			60.56***	0.06	-		
III	1.81	1.44	6.17*	-		72.12***	0.07	0.27	-	
IV	4.41*	3.15	9.06*	0.45		73.44***	0.21	0.04	0.46	
V	0.10	0.002	1.80	2.15	4.55*	142.75***	8.91**	6.99**	2.15	4.55**

* 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001 Significance level 1 df.

Table 5.4 Regional variations in the levels of urban linkage (urban to non-urban) - Chi-square values

	Brides				Grooms			
	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover
Wenlock	-				-			
Munslow	37.67***	-			145.22***	-		
Ludlow	19.57***	0.30	-		0.86	75.08***	-	
Condover	50.26***	4.88*	1.52	-	60.37***	9.67**	35.29***	-
Ford	29.01***	1.15	0.146	0.76	65.89***	4.39*	40.49***	0.60

Constituent parishes

	Brides					Grooms				
	U	I	II	III	IV	U	I	II	III	IV
U	-									
I	4.31*					18.22***				
II	4.14*	0.01				27.57***	1.17			
III	2.38	0.58	0.68			43.99***	2.17	0.04		
IV	2.34	9.04**	8.53**	7.12**		27.72***	0.55	0.16	0.47	
V	25.01***	4.53*	3.63*	10.62**	33.30***	76.49***	14.31***	6.19*	7.22**	9.67**

* 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001 Significance level 1 df.

level of contact. Wenlock and Munslow are also judged to differ from Condover and Munslow also differs from Ford, but Wenlock does not. Far more grooms from adjacent parishes occur in Condover and Ford, Wenlock and Munslow form an intermediary category, and Ludlow has the least proportions of local associations. There is therefore a marked regional variation.

The records for the constituent parishes of these hundreds and boroughs reveal some variation in these proportions down the settlement hierarchy, with the localisation of fields increasing as population rank decreases. These changes are not fully supported by Table 5.3, but the urban parishes clearly differ from all other grades of parish and Groups I and II both differ in their level of local emphasis from Group V. The data for the rural parishes, show, with the exception of Group I, far greater consistency.

The record for upland and lowland grooms does not differ. The aggregate pattern for the groupings only separates out Group I as distinctive, differing from all others except Group IV at better than 0.05 (II: X^2 = 6.2044 III: 4.4086 V: 5.9322), and the rest are judged as similar. This difference arises primarily because of a contrast in the upland record, for no differences are identified between any of the groups in the lowland series. Thus the Group I parish, Much Wenlock, has much lower levels of adjacent contact than all other parishes and this is reflected in significant chi-values (II: 7.7160 III: 14.2239 IV: 13.941 V: 12.695). No other differences are established in these series.

When the group proportions are compared between the two samples, rural and regional, no significant differences emerge in the proportions drawn from adjacent parishes in Groups I-V. This high level of local selection of partners seems widespread in most parishes and, while it does appear to vary somewhat between regions and between the urban and smaller parishes, few major contrasts emerge.

The record for extraparochial brides, with rather more of these coming from adjacent parishes, shows less contrasts, and those which do occur may well reflect the smaller sample size in many disaggregations. Table 5.3 reveals again the distinctive form of Ludlow's record, with far fewer local contacts that elsewhere. Munslow, Ford and Condover have highly comparable proportions, but Wenlock, with the most local field from adjacent parishes, differs from Munslow. The extreme localisation of Wenlock's marriage field has been commented on elsewhere and it seems that on the coalfield many women married in churches adjacent to the parish in which they had settlement, possibly because of fashion, or because the social changes engendered in these areas led to a break with traditional practice.

At a parish group level, the regional sample reveals that the groups occupying the pole positions, Group II, with the lowest adjacent proportions, and Group IV, with the highest, also differ significantly from certain other parish groupings, but in all, a large proportion of extraparochial brides are local. In the rural sample, no differences emerge between upland and lowland, or between aggregate groups, and the values are too small to partition and test between relief zones. Highly comparable, though somewhat varied, levels of contact with adjacent parishes are therefore characteristic of extraparochial brides in this sample. When the proportions between the two samples are tested, Groups II and IV differ (II: 5.5799 S 0.05 IV: 9.0782 S 0.01), with lower proportions in the regional sample in the former case and the reverse in the latter.

These regularities are interesting, for they emphasise the extremely local character of marriage selection in most settings. With such large proportions of partners drawn from adjacent parishes it appears that the marriage field, to a large extent, reflects proximity. This makes any rigorous explanation of the pattern of spatial choice both difficult and irrelevant for many couples. The view has been advanced that the

available population at particular distances from a centre controlled the intensity of interaction at certain distances (Ogden 1973 p 30-40). Examination of the population levels of the parishes surrounding the sample communities, using 1811 data as a surrogate measure of earlier population levels, reveals a situation in which a vast range of population totals in adjacent parishes accommodated very comparable levels of exogamous selection and consequently this theme was not pursued. The same was true when the number of adjacent parishes was considered. Neither of these explanations have therefore been employed with these data.

Even though there is some evidence in this material to suggest that the proportion drawn from adjacent parishes decreases up the settlement hierarchy, using these disaggregations the evidence is far from clear cut. Using the data for individual parishes, in the rural sample (n = 23), there is some evidence of such a correlation for brides (rs =-0.4209 S 0.05), but is not retained for grooms or for all extraparochial spouses drawn from adjacent parishes (rs =-0.1557).In the regional sample (n = 60), the suggested relationship does exist for grooms (r = -0.4297 t = 3.624 S 0.01) and for brides (r =-0.2225 t = 1.74 S 0.05). This indicates that the lower the population of a parish the more likely it is that a higher proportion of partners will be drawn from adjacent parishes, a linkage generated by need. In the higher ranked parishes more need is satisfied internally and from further afield and there is proportionally a lower level of contact with those parishes immediately adjacent.

While this goes some way towards providing an explanation it is perhaps best to see this local bias simply as the product of the law of minimum effort shaping the spatial choice of marriage partner. It serves to emphasise the extreme localisation of choice for a large proportion of the population and the limited nature of their behavioural worlds.

II : Urban linkages

(i) The aggregate pattern

Although proximity plays an important role in influencing contact patterns, it is nonetheless worth trying to establish whether differences do exist in the patterns of linkage marriage horizons describe. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 provide information on the level of inter and intra-county linkage but little can be established directly from this evidence, as the location of the sample parishes strongly influences these patterns. It is sufficient to note that the majority of ties are contained within the county boundary. Of greater interest are the levels of urban association incorporated in these records.

In the regional sample, there are clear contrasts between areas in the proportions of extraparochial brides and grooms drawn from urban centres. There is also some evidence, for the constituent parishes in this sample, that these proportions show a progressive decrease down the settlement hierarchy. These contrasts are less evident in the records for the rural sample for each of the parish groupings, for here, levels of urban contact appear far more uniform.

To explore this association further correlations were computed, on the basis of individual parish records, between the population rank of a parish and the level of urban contact. The regional sample revealed a contrasting set of associations. For grooms, a correlation coefficient of +0.3235 ($t = 2.603$ S 0.05) suggests a significant relationship, but no correlation of significance was established for brides ($r = -0.0664$). In the rural sample, for grooms the relationship is again positively and significantly identified ($rs = +0.4713$ S 0.05), but is not supported for brides on a reduced data set of 17 pairs (some places having no urban linkage). Indeed as in the regional sample, for women the trend appears to be the reverse with a negative correlation occurring, ($rs = -0.3129$) but not at a significant level. At this level there does seem to be

limited support for a pattern of differential association between parishes.

The distinction between urban and non-urban origins in each of the sub-samples has been examined further using chi-square analysis and this highlights some similarities and confirms some differences between the various disaggregations. It is simplest to begin by comparing the records for extraparochial brides and grooms and subsequently to consider the sex-specific contrasts.

In the regional sample, significantly more brides are of urban origin than grooms (X^2 = 5.7020 S 0.05). Significant differences also emerge in these proportions in Ludlow and Condover, though in both cases, more grooms are from urban centres (Ludlow X^2 = 15.4579 S 0.001: Condover 8.3773 S 0.01). In the constituent parish groupings only on one occasion, in Group IV, do differences exist in such proportions between the sexes (X^2 = 20.1258 S 0.001), elsewhere the proportions are statistically similar. In the rural sample no differences are evident in the aggregate record, between relief zones, or between groups in the pattern of linkage with urban areas for both sexes. Thus while some differences do emerge between the sexes the overriding impression is of comparable patterns of association.

When the records for brides and grooms are considered separately, more variations are apparent. Table 5.4 presents this information for the regional sample and it is clear, for grooms, that Munslow with its low level of urban association differs from all other areas. Ludlow and Wenlock are considered similar, differing from all others, as are Ford and Condover. The parish groupings reveal that it is the higher levels of such contact for the urban centres which distinguish Ludlow and Wenlock. Indeed three groupings are evident, the urban parishes, Groups I-IV, and Group V each possessing distinctive and reducing levels of urban association. In the rural sample, there is no difference for grooms between

upland and lowland, and the differences between groupings are less structured. Thus Group I differs from II (X^2 = 11.8359 S 0.01 and V (3.9299 S 0.05): Group II from IV (10.8851), but all others are similar.

Partitioning these groups between upland and lowland does produce rather more order. In upland areas, Group I differs in its urban contacts from all other groups (II: X^2 = 10.1290 III: X^2 = 11.7778 IV: X^2 = 20.1170 V: X^2 = 22.7844) at better than 0.01: all of the other parish groups have similar proportions. In the lowland sample, two groups stand out as distinctive - Group I, having lower proportions than might have been expected. Secondly, the Group IV parishes, with their high numbers from urban areas differ from all other groupings (I: X^2 = 13.1203 II: X^2 = 22.8087 III: X^2 = 6.0880 V: X^2 = 6.8735). This pattern arises from the proximity of many of the parishes in this group to urban areas. When the records are compared between upland and lowland for grooms, not surprisingly, differences emerge between Group I (X^2 = 15.7811) and Group IV (X^2 = 17.4407). However, when the aggregate totals for groups are compared between the regional and rural samples it is only in Group II (X^2 = 5.4167 S 0.05) that a significant difference is identified.

The record for brides is rather different and less amenable to testing in the rural sample. Table 5.4 indicates the distinctive pattern of association with urban areas in Wenlock, a function of adjacent urban parishes; Munslow and Condover differ, but all other combinations are considered similar. On a parish basis, the urban parishes and those in Groups III and IV are characterised as similar with high levels of urban linkage. Groups I, II and III all differ from IV, and all parishes are significantly different from the smallest parishes in Group V, which have the lowest level of urban association. The rural sample indicates identical levels of urban contact for brides on those occasions where tests are possible. When the regional and rural samples are compared only in Group IV is a statistically significant difference noted.

(x^2 = 16.1661), with higher levels of urban contact characteristic in the regional record.

Some differences do exist between areas and parish groupings in the patterns of contact with urban centres, which they exhibit. The clearest indication of this pattern comes from the higher levels of urban association characteristic of the larger places, which implies that they are more integrated into the wider urban system. Smaller parishes are less so and their contacts are more local. These regularities are only apparent in the record for extraparochial grooms and no such regularity emerges for brides. This analysis has concentrated on all urban linkages, both within and outside the county and it is appropriate, before arriving at any conclusion on these ties, to examine this record in disaggregated form. It seems likely, given the influence of proximity, that intra- and inter-county flows are a product of rather different generating processes.

(ii) Intra and inter-county flows

Table 5.5 presents the urban data in disaggregated form. The proportions of urban association show less order, and there is a noticeable contrast in the levels of contact with urban centres within and outside the county in most sub-samples. Far more of the inter-county flows are to urban areas. No significant correlation can be established at this scale in either data set between population rank and the proportion of intra-county linkages with urban centres.

When the urban linkages in Shropshire are compared for brides and grooms, in the regional sample on six occasions the records differ between the sexes. On five of these, for the total sample, for Wenlock (x^2 Total sample = 13.0036 S 0.001 Wenlock x^2 = 6.4453 S 0.01), for the urban parishes (x^2 = 8.4363 S 0.01) and for those in Groups III (x^2 = 5.1685 S 0.05) and IV (x^2 = 15.9639) significantly more brides are from urban centres. In Condover, the remaining case, the reverse applies

Table 5.5 Proportions of partners from urban centres from within and outside the county in the sample parishes 1754-1810

	GROOMS						BRIDES					
Regional Sample	INTRA COUNTY			INTER COUNTY			INTRA COUNTY			INTER COUNTY		
	N	Urban		N	Urban		N	Urban		N	Urban	
		n	%		n	%		n	%		n	%
Wenlock	531	232	43.7	100	65	65.0	237	127	53.6	21	11	52.4
Munslow	620	87	14.1	111	36	32.4	124	24	19.4	15	6	40.0
Ludlow	124	16	13.2	99	48	48.5	32	4	12.5	13	4	30.7
Condover	434	91	20.9	34	22	64.7	86	8	9.3	2	1	50.0
Ford	323	71	22.0	74	16	21.6	52	8	15.3	8	1	12.5
Constituent parishes												
Urban ps	304	114	37.5	157	90	57.3	159	65	40.9	29	12	41.4
Group I	274	73	26.6	42	19	45.2	55	14	25.5	3	1	33.3
Group II	216	51	23.1	70	21	30.0	35	6	17.1	13	4	30.7
Group III	498	110	22.0	60	27	45.0	94	31	34.1	4	-	-
Group IV	325	87	27.0	44	11	25.0	90	44	48.9	5	4	80.0
Group V	415	62	14.9	45	19	40.0	98	11	11.2	5	2	40.0
Total 60 ps	2032	497	24.5	418	187	44.5	531	171	32.2	59	23	39.0
10% Sample Rural Shropshire												
Gp I Lowland	251	53	21.1	48	21	43.7						
Upland	75	31	41.3	10	9	90.0						
Total	326	84	25.8	58	30	51.7	62	17	27.4	8	3	37.5
Gp II Lowland	120	16	13.3	10	4	40.0						
Upland	32	5	15.6	8	2	25.0						
Total	152	21	13.8	18	6	33.3	40	10	25.0	1	-	-
Gp III Lowland	85	19	22.4	6	5	83.3						
Upland	69	11	15.9	10	6	60.0						
Total	154	30	19.5	16	11	68.8	22	4	18.2	1	-	-
Gp IV Lowland	93	31	33.3	21	18	85.7						
Upland	85	10	11.8	37	12	32.4						
Total	178	41	23.0	58	30	51.7	39	4	10.2	14	5	35.7
Gp V Lowland	95	23	24.2	12	5	41.7						
Upland	92	13	14.1	17	4	23.5						
Total	187	36	19.3	29	9	31.0	41	10	22.1	2	-	-
II Lowland ps	644	142	22.0	97	53	54.6	121	22	18.2	16	8	50.0
II2 Upland ps	353	70	19.8	82	33	40.2	83	23	27.7	10	-	-
Total Sample	997	212	21.3	179	86	48.0	204	45	22.1	26	8	30.8

Source: Mss and transcribed registers of the sample parishes.

and the difference is significant (X^2 = 6.3368 S 0.05). In the rural sample, no difference exists in the patterns of urban contact between the sexes, in total or in upland or lowland settings.

At a regional level (Table 5.6), the record for grooms shows some differences from the aggregate urban data. Wenlock now emerges as distinctive, with the highest contact rates; Ford and Condover form an intermediate category and show no difference, while Ludlow and Munslow are judged as similar and form a third group with the lowest levels of intra-county urban linkage. Considered by parish grouping, the threefold distinction noted in the previous analysis breaks down, and while the urban parishes differ from Group III, fundamentally at this scale, the distinction is between the smallest parishes with low levels of urban linkage and all others. Little difference is evident between these groupings and the comparable ones in the rural sample. Only in Group II is a significant difference established (X^2 = 5.4394 S 0.05).

In the rural sample, differences exist between Group I and II (X^2 = 8.6378 S 0.01) and II and IV (X^2 = 4.5657 S 0.05), but elsewhere no differences are apparent. When the record is partitioned between upland and lowland, in the former area Group I differs from all other groups (II: X^2 = 6.6402 III: X^2 = 11.2148 IV: X^2 = 18.2781 V: X^2 = 15.7557) at better than 0.01, but no other differences exist. In the lowland sample, Groups I and IV differ, as noted earlier, from each other and Group IV differs from II (Gp I-IV = 5.4484 S 0.05: Gp IV-II = 12.1870 S 0.01). This is essentially the same pattern as in the aggregate analysis.

For brides, the intra-county linkages in the regional sample match those already discussed for all urban contacts (Table 5.5) and do not need reiteration. In the rural sample, the differences, where they can be assessed, are minor, though clearly Group I differs from IV, though the relationship is untestable.

Table 5.6 Regional variations in levels of intra-county urban linkage (urban to non-urban) - Chi square values

Brides

	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover
Wenlock	-			
Munslow	39.20***	-		
Ludlow	19.05***	0.81	-	
Condover	50.87***	3.97*	0.26	-
Ford	26.58***	0.52	0.09	0.99

Grooms

	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover
Wenlock	-			
Munslow	125.59***	-		
Ludlow	40.50***	0.11	-	
Condover	55.37***	8.75**	4.05*	-
Ford	41.35***	9.62**	4.71*	0.11

Constituent parishes

Brides

	U	I	II	III	IV
U	-				
I	4.17*				
II	6.97**	0.85			
III	1.56	0.93	3.12		
IV	1.50	7.81**	10.58**	4.82*	
V	25.60***	5.22*	0.81	13.29***	32.16***

Grooms

	U	I	II	III	IV
U					
I	0.20				
II	1.53	0.59			
III	4.49*	2.03	0.20		
IV	0.18	0.01	0.68	2.36	
V	21.39***	14.35***	7.27**	7.56**	15.86***

Significance levels

*** S 0.001 ** 0.01 * 0.05 d.f. 1.

The intra-county analysis highlights the role of within county linkages in the pattern of all urban linkages and, with the exception of the regional pattern for grooms, produces comparable patterns of similarity and difference.

When the intra and inter county patterns are compared more striking differences emerge. Unfortunately, the small numbers in certain sub-samples make statistical comparison inappropriate. As Table 5.7 indicates only in Ford are the urban proportions judged similar for grooms and in Groups II and IV of the regional sample. The bridal records, where they are testable, show greater similarities. In the rural sample, on the ten occasions when a direct comparison can be made, only on two occasions can no significant difference be established - for all brides and for grooms in Group V. Overall a considerable contrast is evident between these partitioned series.

Table 5.8 examines the inter-county linkages to urban centres for grooms in the regional sample. Wenlock and Condover have comparably high levels of outside urban contact; Condover and Ludlow are considered similar, but different from Munslow and Ford which form a third category. The constituent parishes show little pattern, but Groups II and IV have lower levels of inter-county urban contact from selected other groupings.

In the rural sample few of the inter-county urban linkages are testable. No difference is evident between brides and grooms in the sample at 0.05. The disaggregated bridal record is untestable. In the record for grooms, Groups V and II are similar, but V differs from all others having lower levels of urban contact outside the county (V-I = 4.2199, III = 5.9401 and to IV = 4.9135 all S 0.05). Groups II and III are also judged to differ (4.2500 S 0.05), as they have the lowest and highest values respectively.

This disaggregated enquiry highlights the contrasts between the intra and inter-county pattern of urban linkage. At the intra-county scale for

Table 5.7 A comparison of intra and inter-county linkages to urban centres. Urban to non-urban chi values

Regional sample			**Rural sample**		
Wenlock	B	0.0112			
	G	15.3370***			
Munslow	B	3.3698			
	G	22.7754***			
Ludlow	B	2.1108			
	G	34.0593***			
Condover	B	Ut	Upland	B	Ut
	G	32.9327***		G	14.9941***
Ford	B	Ut	Lowland	B	8.3651**
	G	0.0045		G	46.1746***
Total					
Sample	B	1.1059		B	0.9866
	G	70.8397***		G	57.1320***
Constituent parishes					
Urban	B	0.0025			
	G	41.3943**			
Group I	B	Ut		B	Ut
	G	6.1020*		G	18.5877***
Group II	B	1.0671		B	Ut
	G	1.1455		G	4.5889
Group III	B	Ut		B	Ut
	G	15.1748***		G	19.2252***
Group IV	B	Ut		B	Ut
	G	0.0621		G	21.6189***
Group V	B	Ut		B	Ut
	G	20.8286***		G	2.1135

Ut = Untestable

Significance levels *** 0.001
df I ** 0.01
* 0.05

Table 5.8 Regional variations in levels of inter-county urban linkage (urban to non urban) - Chi square values

Grooms

	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover
Wenlock	-			
Munslow	22.36***			
Ludlow	5.53*	5.62*		
Condover	0.00	11.29***	2.67	
Ford	32.16***	2.56	13.11***	18.96***

	U	I	II	III	IV
U	-				
I	1.95				
II	14.47***	2.65			
III	2.65	0.00	3.12		
IV	14.36***	3.87*	0.33	4.38*	
V	3.21	0.08	1.80	0.08	2.95

Significance levels I df *0.05 **0.01 ***0.001

grooms, Wenlock is distinctive, Munslow and Ludlow similar and Ford and Condover comparable. All parishes in the regional sample, except those in Group V, have similar proportions of spouses drawn from urban centres within the county. The rural sample while showing some differences, reveals fairly uniform patterns. For brides, the same general patterns apply as for grooms, but on a number of occasions more brides come from the towns than grooms. Presumably, women from the towns did work in countryside parishes and having done so, chose to marry where they worked, emerging in the registers as extraparochial entries.

Linkages outside the county show far higher urban proportions. At a regional level, Wenlock shows more entries from towns in other counties, Munslow and Condover exchange places, with the latter exhibiting higher levels of outside urban linkage. Ford had least contact with urban centres beyond the county, which is not surprising given its westerly location and the limited urban opportunities provided in the neighbouring Welsh counties.

There is less regularity through the settlement hierarchy in terms of outside urban linkage. A gradation is evident, with rather more of these associations in the largest places, and significantly less in the smallest parishes, but it does show some irregularity. These inter-county flows contrast markedly with those to urban centres in Shropshire, representing a larger proportion of most flows. This suggests that the forces directing these patterns of contact differed within and outside the county.

Within Shropshire, marriage partners from urban centres form a minority group. The majority of extraparochial partners are drawn from other rural parishes. This would suggest that much of the pre-marital employment mobility was directed towards similar agricultural parishes rather than the towns during this period. It would therefore be a lateral rather than a vertical pattern of movement through the settlement system.

Only in the borough of Wenlock, urban parishes in the regional sample and in the upland Group I parishes do urban origins account for more than a third of all linkages. Elsewhere, rural origins dominate. It is clear, however, that the importance of urban centres increases with the rank of the community, which indicates that the relationship is not simple. The theme of lateral or vertical movement within the settlement system is explored further in Chapter Eight, when these patterns are interpreted in terms of mobility. Here the contrast in structure is simply noted, but it does appear that partners are selected within the county from a continuous environment, incorporating both rural and urban parishes.

Outside the county, the selection process is different. The environment and the opportunities it provided for employment is viewed in a discontinuous manner. The level of urban origins doubles in both samples, and represents a majority of inter-county contacts in many sub-samples. A regional and national 'cityspace' appears to direct employment mobility and influence the origin of marriage partners recorded in the registers. This occurs at all levels in the settlement hierarchy and, while not excluding links with rural parishes outside the county, appears to be the dominant force influencing the pattern.

When these two disaggregations are considered together, they indicate that both lateral and vertical flows are incorporated in the records of marriage, with differing emphasises within and outside the county. Overall, a correlation exists between the proportion of urban origins and position of a parish within the settlement hierarchy, which suggests that the higher ranked a settlement the more likely are urban associations, but this regularity disguises complex underlying trends.

III : The origins of urban partners

The statistical regularities which have been discussed provide useful insights into the structural patterns of contact recorded in the marriage registers, but they provide no detail in place terms of which urban centres were providing marriage partners in these Shropshire parishes. Many of the urban linkages were, in fact, with adjacent parishes and therefore reflect proximity, rather than any appreciation of the opportunities provided by places higher in the settlement hierarchy. Such linkages need identification to clarify the pattern and to provide a geographical perspective on these structural associations.

The record for grooms of linkages within the county in the regional sample is presented in Table 5.9. The various urban centres have been graded into a broad threefold ranking based on their documentation in Barfoot and Wilkes Universal directory (1797). In each regional area and parish grouping, links with the nearest urban centre and their relative grades are noted. For the five hundreds and boroughs, 42.9 per cent (213/497) of all urban ties were to the nearest town.

All of the hundreds and boroughs and each constituent parish grouping record the marriages of grooms from the county town, Shrewsbury. The strength of its influence in different areas and between the different grades of parish reflects its relative proximity to the parishes in each disaggregation. Thus Ford and Condover record a large proportion of grooms from Shrewsbury and this in turn influences the high proportions of such linkages in Groups I, II and V, for many of the individual parishes recorded in these three groupings lie in those two hundreds. Nonetheless, as Figure 5.1 indicates, all of the other urban centres within the five hundreds and boroughs and many rural parishes record in their registers grooms originating from Shrewsbury. These patterns are matched by comparable linkages of extraparochial brides suggesting that the influence of the county town extended well into this area of southern Shropshire with people moving from quite distant rural parishes to Shrewsbury.

Table 5.9 Patterns of urban linkage within Shropshire - regional sample

GROOMS		Urban hierarchy (percentage of row)				
		I Shrewsbury	IIA Market centres	IIB Industrial centres	III Smaller centres	n
Wenlock	N	-	2	75	18	95
	O	19(13.9)	30(21.9)	56(40.9)	32(23.4)	137
	T	19(8.2)	32(13.8)	131(56.4)	50(21.6)	232
Munslow	N	-	23	-	20	43
	O	7(15.9)	11(25.0)	10(22.7)	16(36.4)	44
	T	7(8.0)	34(39.1)	10(11.5)	36(41.4)	87
Ludlow	N	-	-	-	2	2
	O	4(28.5)	3(21.4)	-	7(50.0)	14
	T	4(25.0)	3(18.8)	-	9(56.3)	16
Condover	N	24	-	-	13	37
	O	13(24.1)	6(11.1)	18(33.3)	17(31.4)	54
	T	37(40.6)	6(6.5)	18(19.8)	30(32.9)	91
Ford	N	36	-	-	-	36
	O	10(28.6)	12(34.2)	8(22.8)	5(14.3)	35
	T	46(64.8)	12(16.9)	8(11.3)	5(7.0)	71
Total	N	60	25	75	53	213
	O	53(18.6)	62(21.8)	92(32.4)	79(27.8)	284
	T	113(22.7)	87(17.5)	167(33.6)	132(26.6)	497
Constituent parishes						
Urban ps	N	-	18	32	-	50
	O	11(17.2)	18(28.1)	21(32.8)	7(10.9)	64
	T	11(9.6)	18(15.8)	53(46.5)	7(6.2)	114
Group I	N	29		6		35
	O	8(21.1)	16(42.1)	8(21.1)	6(15.8)	38
	T	37(50.7)	16(30.2)	14(19.2)	6(8.2)	73
Group II	N	16	6			23
	O	10(35.7)	7(25.0)	8(28.6)	4(14.3)	28
	T	26(51.0)	13(25.5)	8(15.7)	4(7.8)	51
Group III	N	7	11	11	19	48
	O	7(11.3)	11(17.7)	28(45.2)	16(25.8)	62
	T	14(12.7)	22(20.0)	39(35.5)	35(31.8)	110
Group IV	N	1	7	19	13	40
	O	6(12.7)	8(17.0)	20(42.6)	13(27.7)	47
	T	7(8.0)	15(17.2)	39(44.8)	26(29.9)	87
Group V	N	7	1	7	24	39
	O	11(47.8)	2(8.7)	7(30.4)	3(13.0)	23
	T	18(29.0)	3(4.8)	14(22.5)	27(43.5)	62

N = Nearest urban centre
O = Other urban centres
T = Total urban centres

IIA Market centres: Ludlow, Bridgnorth, Oswestry, Ellesmere, Market Drayton, Whitchurch.
IIB Ind. centres: Wellington, Dawley, Broseley, Madeley.
III Smaller centres: Shifnal, Wenlock, Cleobury Mortimer, Bishops Castle, Wem, Church Stretton, Newport.

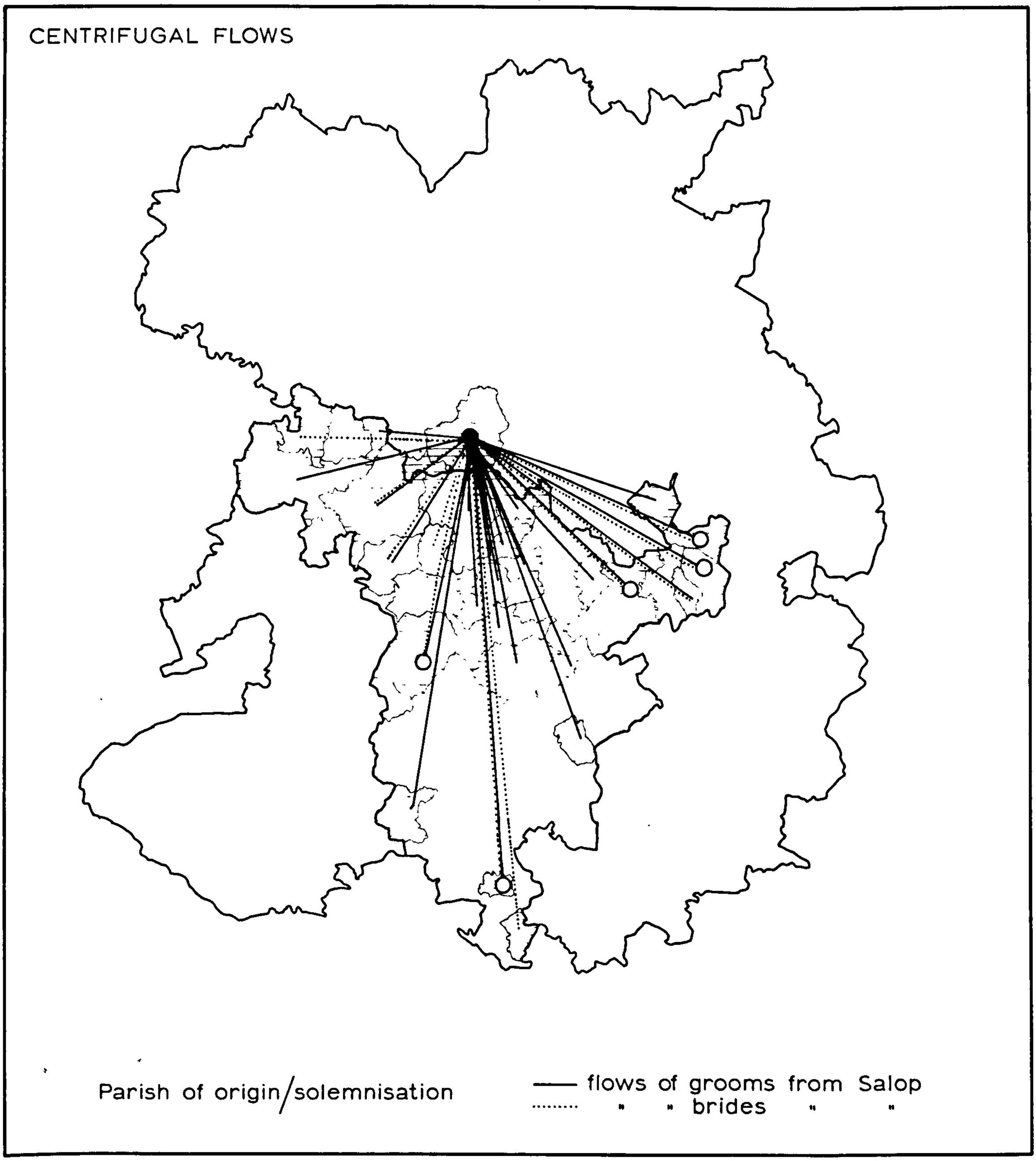


Figure 5.1 Marriage solemnisations of brides and grooms from Shrewsbury in the constituent parishes of the five hundreds and boroughs.

Of the six Grade IIA market centres in the county only two lie in southern Shropshire and only one, Ludlow, within the five hundreds and boroughs. A large number of entries from these centres are found in the borough of Wenlock, which records numerous grooms from Bridgnorth (27), a few from Ludlow (4) and one from Oswestry. The majority of these ties with Bridgnorth, which is within 15 km. of most parishes in the borough, are to be found in the registers of the urban centres of Madeley, Broseley and the Group I parish of Much Wenlock and the same is true of the other urban linkages. Munslow's links with market centres are overwhelmingly to Ludlow (85.3 per cent), which is the nearest urban centre for many parishes. The remaining urban grooms in this category come from Bridgnorth, which is reasonably accessible for parishes on the eastern side of the hundred. These linkages influence the totals of Groups III, IV and V in the parish grouping disaggregation. In both these areas there is minimal contact with urban centres in north Shropshire.

This is not quite as true in the other three areas. Ludlow records grooms from Bridgnorth, Oswestry and Whitchurch. Ford records a number of grooms from Oswestry (9), but then this town is relatively near the parishes of Alberbury (Gp II) and Cardeston (Gp IV), and also shows records of grooms from Ellesmere. Condover's registers record grooms from all the towns in this grade except Market Drayton, and have a noticeably less directed pattern. Overall, Grade IIA centres represent the least frequent source for marriage partners, but this is more a measure of their relative location within the county and competition from other nearer centres than any other factor.

Four towns - Wellington, Dawley, Broseley and Madeley - have been placed in Grade IIB as industrial in emphasis. The first two lie outside the five hundreds, but are very near the borough of Wenlock, while the last two lie within that borough. This has a marked influence on the origin of grooms recorded in Table 5.9, where the majority of the links with

these centres are entered in the parishes of the borough of Wenlock, but grooms from these towns do occur in the registers of all other areas except Ludlow. Grooms from these centres exceed those from Shrewsbury, and while there is evidence of a strong neighbourhood element in the pattern, the proportions drawn from Ford, Condover and Munslow are highly comparable and, at times, exceed those from the county town. This is most evident in the relative proportions drawn from these centres in the constituent parish groupings.

An impression of the impact of two of these industrial centres and of Much Wenlock (Grade III) can be gained from Figures 5.2 and 5.3. The centripetal pattern in Figure 5.2 indicates that parishes sending grooms to the three towns. It therefore represents the pull of these three places over the whole county. An extensive field is evident in both the north and south of the county. The centrifugal pattern, built up from the record of grooms from Much Wenlock, Madeley, and Broseley in the constituent parishes of the five hundreds and boroughs reveals that similarities exist between the two patterns for the south of the county. Although this constitutes only a partial reconstruction of the spatial association, it does indicate that the northern part of the borough of Wenlock acted as an important urban focus for large areas of the county. This was a focus which competed strongly with that provided by the county town. Similar patterns of association are evident for extraparochial brides (Figure 5.3). Though the field is less extensive it has the same orientation and clearly these three towns drew many women to them in search of work. This led eventually to marriage within them rather than a return to their home parishes. No map is provided of centrifugal flows for brides as few women from these three centres married in any of the 60 rural parishes in the five hundreds. This indicates the lack of attraction that the rural parishes had for women from these places, despite the availability of domestic service.

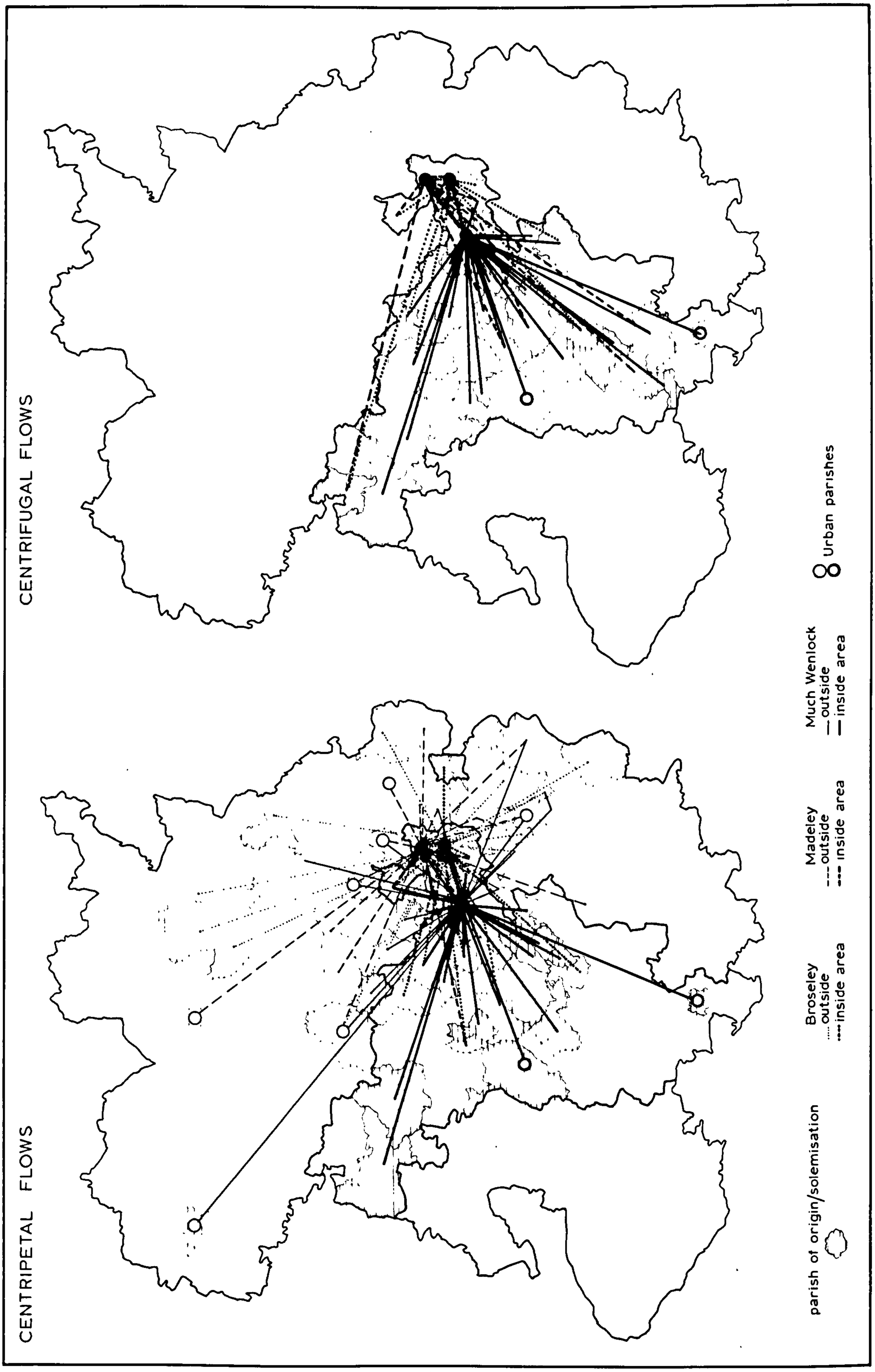


Figure 5.2 Flows of grooms into Madeley, Broseley and Much Wenlock from all parishes in Shropshire and out from those urban parishes into the constituent parishes of the five hundreds and boroughs.

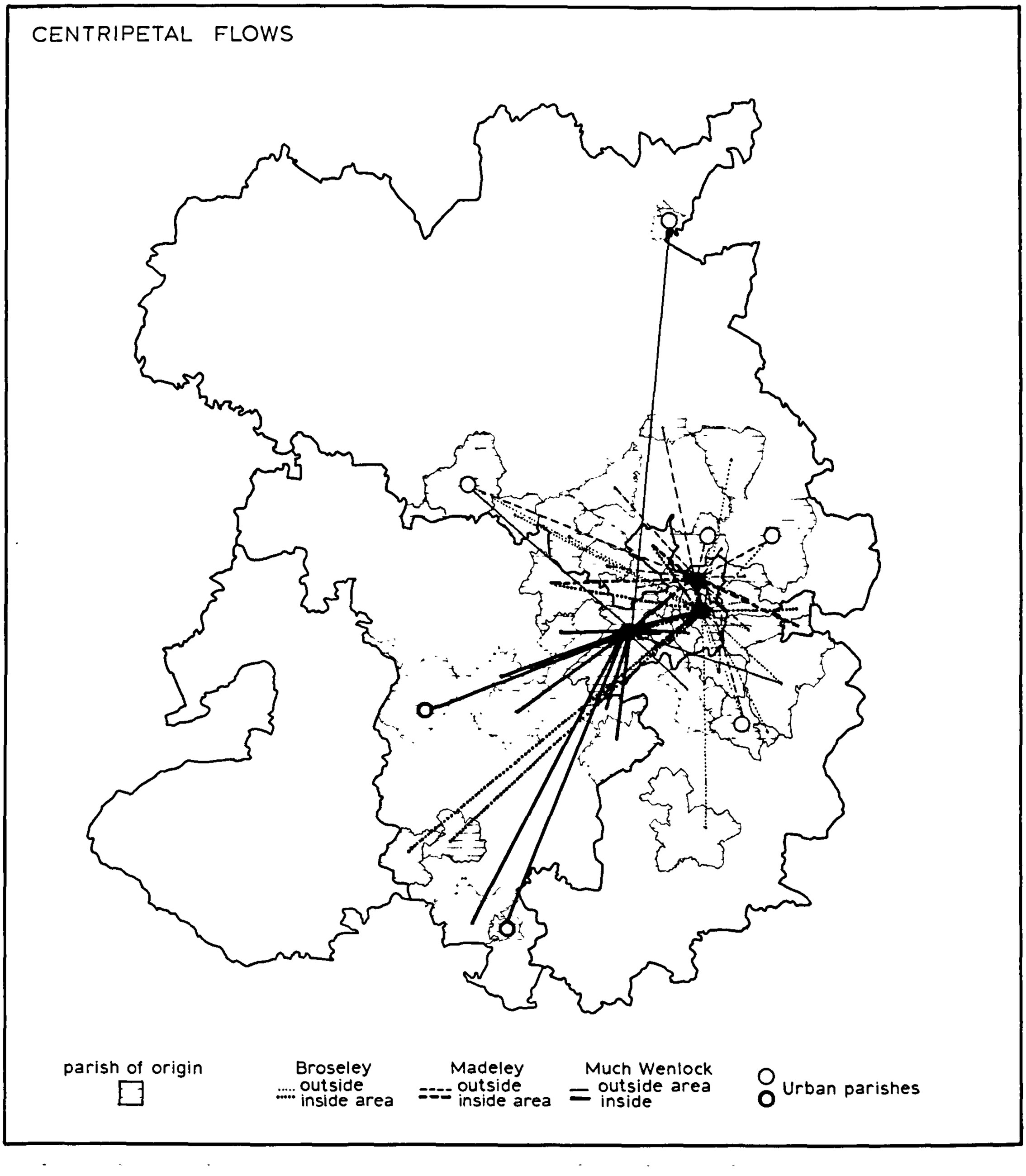


Figure 5.3 Flows of brides into Madeley, Broseley and Much Wenlock from all parishes in Shropshire.

These diagrams indicate the influence of the industrialising areas of the east Shropshire coalfield on mobility in this part of the county, and may also show the broad area from which population was recruited to provide the labour force for such expansion. The interpretation of these spatial linkages however is not immediately evident from the marriage data, which gives no indication of how marriage solemnisation related to settlement (Chapter Eight).

A number of smaller urban centres, seven in the county as a whole, also provide a substantial proportion of grooms. The contribution of these places varies between the five hundreds and boroughs and depends very much on where such centres are located. The most noticeable feature in Table 5.9 is the increasing emphasis on these smaller towns in Groups III, IV and V, where they are among the most frequent providers of grooms for women from these parishes. In the higher ranked parish groupings they are of considerably less importance and this distinction may be significant. It could be that individuals in the smallest places looked to the nearest small centre for employment, while people in larger parishes set their sights on opportunities available higher up the settlement hierarchy. The distribution of these centres, however, strongly predetermines the pattern and this point should not be overemphasised without more evidence.

Table 5.10 documents the linkages from urban centres within the county recorded for extraparochial brides. These are far fewer in number (171) and they represent at 32.2 per cent a smaller proportion of all extraparochial bridal contacts than do the linkages just discussed for grooms (44.5 per cent). A larger proportion of these moves are from the nearest urban centres (55.6 per cent 95/171) than for grooms, and this applies in all hundreds and boroughs except Ford (Table 5.11). When the constituent parish groupings are considered, the relative importance of the nearest urban centre shows some variation, and is most heavily

Table 5.10 Patterns of urban linkage within Shropshire for brides - regional sample

BRIDES	Urban hierarchy (in brackets links to nearest centre)				
	I	IIA	IIB	III	n
	Shrewsbury	Market centres	Industrial centres	Smaller centres	
Wenlock	4	14	87(65)	20(2)	127
Munslow	2	13(10)	-	9(5)	24
Ludlow	-	-	-	4(2)	4
Condover	2(1)	1	-	5(5)	8
Ford	4(2)	2	-	2	8
Constituent parishes					
Urban parishes	2	8	38(28)	17(2)	65
Group I	3(2)	4	4(4)	3	14
Group II	2	4(3)	-	-	6
Group III	1(1)	8(6)	16(7)	6(5)	31
Group IV	1	5(2)	30(26)	8(3)	44
Group V	3	1	1	6(6)	11
Total	12(3)	30(11)	89(65)	40(16)	171

Table 5.11 Proportions of all within-county urban partners drawn from nearest urban centres: regional sample

%

	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover	Ford	Total
Grooms	40.9	49.4	12.5	40.7	50.7	42.9
Brides	52.8	62.5	50.0	75.0	25.0	55.6

	U	I	II	III	IV	V
Grooms	43.8	47.9	45.1	43.6	45.9	62.9
Brides	46.1	42.8	50.0	61.3	70.5	54.5

Grooms n = 213
Brides n = 95

emphasised for brides in Group IV parishes, but as this data set is strongly influenced by the records of the borough of Wenlock (Table 5.10), this is not surprising,

With the exception of Ludlow, all hundreds and boroughs show the marriage of extraparochial brides from Shrewsbury, and brides from the county town occur in all grades of parish, and again the effect of proximity is evident in Condover and Ford and Groups I and III. The majority of the brides from Grade IIA centres come from Bridgnorth (10) and Ludlow (16), marrying in parishes in Wenlock and Munslow. Brides also come from Oswestry to marry in Condover and Ford, from Ellesmere to marry in Ford and from Market Drayton to marry in the borough of Wenlock. The women from towns are spread across all the parish groupings, though the urban parishes attract a large number, particularly as in none of these cases are the recorded centres the nearest to the parish of solemnisation.

The industrial towns were recorded most frequently as the parish of origin of urban extraparochial brides. The majority of these women were from Broseley (45) followed by Madeley (19) and Dawley (18). They either married in parishes adjacent to their own within the borough of Wenlock, or in other towns in the same area. It is noticeable that none occur outside this borough. Grade III centres, the second largest providers of extraparochial brides, contribute to the records of all areas and all but one parish grouping. This seems to reflect the drift of a few individuals into nearby rural parishes from urban areas in search of employment, with them subsequently choosing to marry and presumably settle in their parish of solemnisation. These bridal patterns are heavily influenced by the records of the borough of Wenlock, with the result that they are very different in form from that of extraparochial grooms. They do, however, suggest regional contrasts in the volume of extraparochial marriage by women, at least in these five areas.

The rural sample drawn from the whole of Shropshire, indicates some similarities with the regional records, but also points to some differences in emphasis. Slightly fewer of the grooms come from the nearest urban centre (37.9 per cent) and the same is true for brides (48.9 per cent). The role of the nearest centres differs in upland areas (27.1 per cent) from the lowland parishes (42.8 per cent) and appears far less important. Table 5.12 presents the patterns of urban origins for this sample.

In aggregate, the record for grooms shows more originating from Shrewsbury mainly due to a large proportion from the county town in the lowland sample. A reversal in the role of centres in Grades IIA and IIB is evident compared with the regional records. This again is primarily a result of the records for the northern lowland parishes, but is also evident in the upland sample. In both sub-samples the importance of the industrial centres is less marked and the market centres more dominant. Grooms are recorded from Bridgnorth and Ludlow in the upland record and from Market Drayton, Whitchurch, and Ellesmere in the lowland parishes for Grade IIA towns. All the industrial towns are documented as origin points for grooms in both areas, which matches the patterns presented in Figure 5.2. A smaller proportion of grooms originate in Grade III centres in each relief zone, though here again differences occur between areas in the numbers of such places.

It therefore appears, for grooms, that in the upland, links were least likely with the county town, while in the lowland the smaller centres of Wem, Shifnal and Newport held a comparable position. In aggregate, Grade II centres provided most grooms for these rural parishes, though the type of Grade II town providing these spouses varied between relief zones. This no doubt reflected proximity and the distribution of other alternative centres. The urban linkages in this sample are too few to justify a partition between parish size groupings.

Table 5.12 Patterns of urban linkage within Shropshire for brides and grooms in the rural sample

	Urban hierarchy (percentage contacts)				
	I Shrewsbury	IIA Market towns	IIB Industrial centres	III Smaller towns	n
Upland grooms	17.1	27.1	24.3	31.4	70
Lowland grooms	31.6	39.6	15.5	13.6	142
All grooms	26.8	37.5	18.3	19.1	212
All brides	24.4	28.9	22.2	24.4	45

Note: Classification of centres as in the preceding tables - after Barfoot and Wilkes Universal Directory 1797.

Table 5.13 Patterns of urban linkage outside Shropshire for grooms

	Location of urban centres (percentage of contacts in each sub-sample)					
	London	West Midlands	North	Other English counties	Wales	n
Regional sample						
Wenlock	7.9	72.3	9.2	7.7	3.1	65
Munslow	11.1	38.9	8.3	25.0	16.6	36
Ludlow	18.8	18.8	8.3	39.6	10.4	48
Condover	18.2	31.8	22.7	9.1	18.2	22
Ford	6.3	-	6.3	25.0	62.5	16
Constituent parishes						
Urban ps.	12.2	44.4	7.8	26.6	8.8	90
Group I	21.1	36.8	10.5	-	31.5	19
Group II	4.8	38.1	14.3	19.0	23.8	21
Group III	22.2	44.4	14.8	7.4	11.1	27
Group IV	-	54.5	-	9.1	36.4	11
Group V	-	36.8	15.8	36.8	10.5	19
Rural sample						
Upland grooms	27.3	45.5	6.0	6.0	15.5	33
Lowland grooms	9.4	39.6	30.2	3.8	17.0	53
All grooms	16.2	41.8	20.9	4.7	16.3	86

West Midlands includes towns in the counties of Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire.

North includes towns in Cheshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, and Northumberland.

English counties remaining southern and eastern counties main entries from Herefordshire, and Gloucestershire.

For brides, where again the numbers are low, the division between different grades of centre is fairly even, but the combined Grade II categories are the most frequent sources of women who choose to marry in countryside parishes. It is inappropriate to partition this record between upland and lowland, but most of the centres already mentioned in the discussion recur in this record. Thus brides are noted from Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Bridgnorth, Ellesmere, Whitchurch, Market Drayton and Oswestry, Wellington, Madeley, and Broseley, Church Stretton, Bishops Castle, Cleobury Mortimore, Newport and Shifnal, but in most cases the numbers from any one centre are small.

The details provided by this review of urban linkages within Shropshire point to the relative influence of urban centres of varying grade or rank in directing patterns of spatial association. The evidence, while documenting the actual towns from which brides and grooms were drawn, does little to support any notion of a systematic progression in levels of contact dependent on the rank of an urban centre. It does indicate the relative importance of different centres and points quite clearly to their spheres of influence. The problems of proximity and relative location are extremely influential on the pattern of contact which developed, and as these are difficult to control for, they inevitably undermine any regularity which may have existed. The role of the county town and of the industrial towns of the coalfield is fairly clear and in most of the parishes these constitute the most important outside focii. Other towns are also of importance, particularly if they were the nearest urban centre, and it was from these that marriage partners were selected.

It should not be forgotten, however, that marriage contacts with urban centres represent, in most sub-samples, a minority of all extra-parochial contacts within the county. A minority, that is, of between 11-44 per cent of the intra-county pattern. Later discussion of the total pattern of contact with both urban and rural parishes places this material in a fuller perspective (Chapter Eight).

Although urban linkages constitute a clear minority of internal Shropshire contacts, they represent a much larger proportion of the inter-county patterns of association. For grooms, in the regional sample, they average 44.5 per cent and in the rural sample 48.0 per cent, but this covers a wide range of proportions when the samples are disaggregated (Table 5.5). They are less frequent for extraparochial brides, but even in that data set their proportions are much higher. Other contacts over the county border are frequently to the immediately adjacent rural parishes in the neighbouring counties. This applies particularly to parishes in Ford hundred, to Beckbury and Badger, detached parishes of the borough of Wenlock, and to many of the inter-county links from Ludlow and Munslow. These, by abutting, Montgomeryshire, Staffordshire and Herefordshire respectively, inevitably record a large number of inter-county contacts between rural parishes. These locational factors make the urban linkages still appear a minority of all inter-county contacts, but they are nonetheless of critical significance in shaping the orientation and extent of the wider marriage field.

Figure 5.4 documents the extent of inter-county contact recorded in the marriage records of the regional sample. In both the patterns for brides and grooms the role of the neighbouring counties of Montgomeryshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire is apparent. The importance of London as a point of origin for grooms is also worthy of note, as is the more limited pattern of inter-county contact for brides. The absence of grooms from the East Midlands, central Southern England and south and west Wales is also noticeable. Against this general background it is useful to examine the actual urban centres recorded in the Shropshire marriage registers.

Only 59 extraparochial brides came from outside the county in the regional sample and of these 23 came from urban centres, the majority of the remainder coming from rural parishes in the adjacent counties,

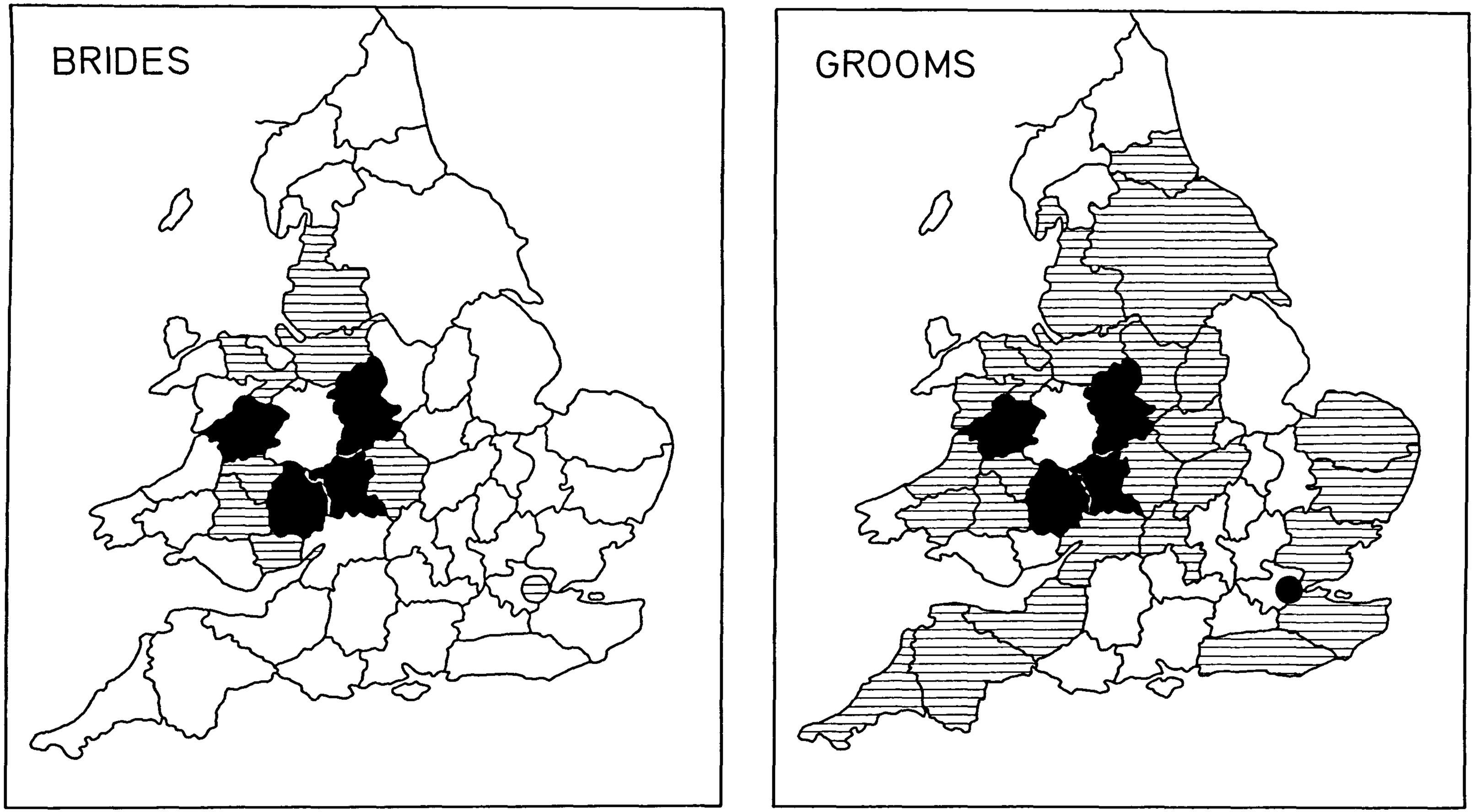


Figure 5.4 Inter-county mobility : origins of extraparochial brides and grooms married in the five hundreds and boroughs 1754-1810.

particularly from Herefordshire and Montgomeryshire. The borough of Wenlock received brides from London (1), Staffordshire (5: Wolverhampton 2, Bilston, Stoke and Tamworth), and Worcestershire (5: Worcester 4 and Bewdley 1). The Staffordshire brides all married in either Madeley or Broseley as did the four women from Worcester, the links with London and Bewdley were recorded in the registers of Benthall, a Group IV parish, located on the coalfield. The moves to urban centres in Shropshire suggest clear links between areas of comparable economy, but what precisely directed them is unknown. They do reflect an association with towns to the east and south and a general alignment to the west midlands.

In contrast, Munslow records six brides, three from small towns in Herefordshire (Tenbury (2), Leominster) and two from Montgomeryshire (Knighton and Montgomery) and only one from the west midlands - a bride from Birmingham. Three of the six, the girls from Tenbury, Montgomery and Birmingham, married in a Group II parish, the remainder all married in parishes in Groups IV and V. The differing orientation, the towns involved and the destinations of these girls stand in marked contrast to the Wenlock record and seem likely to reflect employment linkages in the agricultural sector rather more so than the former examples.

The records for Ludlow, Ford and Condover are more limited. Ludlow records the marriage of girls from Newtown, Tenbury, Bewdley and London; a girl from Wrexham married in Pontesbury (Group I) in Ford, and one from Preston (Lancs) married in Condover (Group II) in the parish of the same name. What directed these linkages is unknown, but presumably the search for work brought them to these parishes, and they married there rather than return to their more distant home parish.

The rural sample generates even fewer cases of inter-county contact. On 23 occasions brides from outside the county marry in Shropshire parishes, on eight of these, the women come from urban centres. Women from London and Coventry married in Wem, and as noted earlier, a girl from Wrexham.

married in Pontesbury (both of which are Group I parishes). In Tong (Group IV), brides occur from Bath and from Brewood (2) and Penkridge in Staffordshire, while in Montford (Group IV), a bride is recorded from Worthing.

On all of these occasions, these flows must be seen as reverse flows down the opportunity hierarchy, a move from larger to smaller centres. To speculate on how or why these women arrived in Shropshire parishes without documentation is unwise, but arrive they did, possibly in service, but no evidence is available to substantiate this. It does indicate that a few women moved over considerable distances during these years and that for some at least, opportunities were taken in parishes a long way from their home areas. The limited evidence also suggest that there was a tendency for such movement to be directed to places of comparable economy if the records of Munslow and Wenlock are typical.

Grooms are drawn from all the counties which provide extraparochial brides and many more. In the counties providing more than five per cent of partners a large proportion of the contacts are with urban areas. The distribution of these urban linkages is shown in Table 5.13 and certain contrasts are evident between the hundreds and boroughs and between parish groupings. The numbers involved in each sub-sample are relativelysmall, but clear differences in orientation exist between the hundreds. Wenlock, Munslow and Condover show a dominant linkage with towns of the west Midlands, Ford to towns in Wales, while Ludlow's links are to towns scattered throughout the southern English counties.

At the parish group level, the role of the urban centres in the West Midlands is more universally evident, where in all groupings it represents the most frequent tie. Interestingly, at this scale of analysis, London ceases to figure in the records of all parishes, only acting as an origin for grooms in the larger parishes. This implies some variation in the degree to which different sized places were connected to the national urban system/with, not surprisingly, the smallest places having the most local field.

The records for grooms in the rural sample are, in aggregate terms, very similar in their emphasis to those in the regional sample, but some differences are evident between the northern lowland parishes and those in the hill country in the south of Shropshire. There is a common emphasis on towns in the west midlands, but then for the upland parishes London takes second place, while for the lowland parishes there is a clear orientation to the north - to centres in Cheshire and south Lancashire. In both areas there is some linkage with Welsh towns, but these are frequently places on or near the western Shropshire border. The frequency of interaction with Wales is lower than might have been expected and indicates the clear English orientation of the county.

The patterns described in this Table reflect both proximity and links with areas where opportunities were no doubt seen to be better. In the west midlands counties these places were numerous and many small towns provided at least one groom. Wolverhampton, Birmingham, Bilston, and Brewood provided more, as did Worcester, Kidderminster and Bewdley and these are the most important urban centres recurring in all sub-samples of registers, and representing slightly more than half of all entries, the remainder coming from the individual linkages to smaller towns. The most important urban centres in the northern counties are those of Liverpool and Manchester, though frequent entries occur from Nantwich and other towns in Cheshire. Very few of the grooms originated outside Lancashire and Cheshire though as Figure 5.4 indicates some did come from other areas.

The urban centres recorded for the wider English area are dominated by towns in Herefordshire, the southern borderland and the west country. Entries are frequent of grooms from Leominster and Tenbury, Ledbury, Bromyard and Hereford. These towns are near both Ludlow and the parishes of Munslow. Gloucester, Bristol and Bath to the south also occur frequently and indicate a north-south orientation to movement patterns through the

borderland. In Wales, again it is the towns just across the border which provide the most grooms. Thus Welshpool, Montgomery, Presteign, Knighton and Newtown all occur regularly, with the occasional entry from places further into Wales.

The interpretation of these records is problematic. As grooms were coming from these urban areas to marry in rural Shropshire parishes, if they actually settled in those parishes they were moving from places of more to lesser opportunity. In some cases, this may actually have occurred, but it is more likely that Shropshire women had moved to these areas in search of employment and returned home with their spouses, to marry as was customary in their home parishes. Rather than explore this theme further at this stage, the interpretation of these records is left until Chapter Eight, where this issue will be discussed.

These data indicate that men from many of the towns in the counties surrounding Shropshire did become husbands of girls from the county during this period, implying mobility over a fairly wide area for a limited number of the population. The urban system, by the opportunities it provided, appears to have operated as a structuring device directing and orientating the pattern of movement in search of employment within the wider national area. These details add a more precise context to the general discussion of links with urban areas provided in the previous section.

IV : Summary

This chapter has explored the characteristics of the spatial associations recorded in the marriage registers. It leads to a number of conclusions which contribute to an understanding of the distance-decay relationships discussed earlier.

1. Adjacent parishes clearly feature as the most frequent source for extraparochial partners and while some difference exists in individual sub-samples between the sexes they are, in the main, highly comparable. This suggests that non-customary marriage by women may have related more to choice than any distance constraint preventing return to the original parish of settlement.

2. The level of contact with adjacent parishes shows some variation between the hundreds and boroughs and between parish groupings. It is least important in Ludlow, more frequent in Wenlock and Munslow and of greater importance in Condover and Ford. There is no difference in its frequency between upland and lowland parts of the county, or between the two samples for different parish rankings. The differences, where they do occur, appear to be related to the rank of the parish. Thus urban parishes and those in Groups I and II have fewer adjacent linkages proportionally than the smallest places. This is confirmed at the scale of individual parishes by significant correlations between parish rank and adjacent contact, such that the higher the rank of a parish the lower the proportion of extraparochial partners from adjacent parishes. This presumably reflects need, with smaller places forced to search on a larger scale in the immediate environment than larger places; the latter satisfied demand internallyand then looked further afield.

3. It appears that the laws of minimum effort, together with certain structural controls determine these selection patterns. There is no evidence in the geographical distribution of places to suggest that the demography of the adjacent parishes played any major part in controlling the likelihood of partners being selected from them.

4. Linkages with urban centres are important in structuring the form of marriage fields. At an aggregate level, such ties constitute a varying proportion of all contacts, and are of less significance than links with other rural parishes. The records for brides and grooms are again similar.

Contrasts exist between areas in the regional sample reflecting the status of their constituent parishes and their relative proximity to urban centres. Thus the highest levels of linkage with urban areas occur in Wenlock and Ludlow, and the lowest in Munslow; Ford and Condover near Shrewsbury form an intermediate category. The role of parish rank in creating these contacts is confirmed by positive correlations between parish rank and the level of urban association. These distinctions are less marked in the rural sample, but they also recur there.

5. The aggregate linkages disguise differences in the patterns of association inside and outside the county, and it is clear that these two elements combine in different ways in each area to produce the overall pattern. Within the county urban links form a minority of all stated origins for partners. Outside the county their significance increases.

i. Intra-county urban linkages reflect proximity and while they show some structural regularity this is less clear-cut than in the aggregate analysis. Thus differences between hundreds and boroughs emerge, but they are not identical to the earlier classification. Wenlock remains the area with the most internal urban linkages, Ford and Condover remain in the intermediate category, but Ludlow now joins Munslow with the lowest levels of such association. Ludlow appears therefore to have attracted more Shropshire residents from rural parishes than urban centres. The constituent parishes still show higher levels of urban contact in the largest parishes, but there is less order in the relationships. The rural sample reflects comparable trends.

ii. Inter-county urban contacts produce further regroupings and fewer statistical differences are evident. The frequency with which urban centres in different regional areas were contacted does indicate both common and conflicting trends. The county appears to have been well connected with the

west midland centres and also along a north-south axis through the Welsh borderland.

6. Discussion of the actual towns recorded in the two samples provides a fuller geographical perspective on these patterns of spatial association and allows marriage catchment areas to be defined for different grades of centre within Shropshire. It also points to the wider patterns of mobility occurring between Shropshire and towns in England and Wales. On neither occasion does a rigorously structured hierarchy of contact emerge according to the rank of centre, because of the influence of proximity, but the relative amounts of contact with places of different economy and status does emerge.

These findings covering the years from 1754-1810 create a fuller understanding of the processes shaping the spatial form of the marriage territory. They suggest that various forces control its character, many of which can be integrated at a later point into a model linking marriage records with mobility. Unfortunately, even with a data set of this size, it is impossible to ascertain whether the relationships discussed here changed through the period, as samples become too small when disaggregated through time. However, marriage fields can be examined as they change over time by monitoring the aggregate distance-decay profiles. This forms the next stage in the argument.

Chapter 6 The stability of marriage fields 1754-1810

The size of the extraparochial component in the marriage record oscillated considerably during the last fifty years of the eighteenth century and into the first decade of the nineteenth. This variation in the proportion choosing to marry extraparochial partners appears to be related to levels of natural increase and to the need for outside choice of partners in small communities. It is against such a background that the changing character of marriage distances should be evaluated.

Even though the proportions recorded as extraparochial varied in this period, the distances from which spouses were selected may have shown a progressive increase and the form of the marriage field may have changed. Three possible situations may have arisen. Firstly, it might be anticipated that marriage distances increased during the period. This would be supported by the argument that the gradual change from a pre-industrial society created a situation of increasing mobility in both a physical and a socio-economic sense which in turn led to an expansion of marriage horizons.

The impact of such changes would not necessarily be experienced in all locations at the same time. Larger, more centrally linked places should experience such change first and, in theory at least, it should diffuse in a spatial and structural sense out into and down the system. Its impact would therefore be phased. It is however possible, that the changes which were occurring had their first impact in the smallest places, which were in many ways more marginal. Therefore it might be possible for the sequence of change to occur in the reverse direction, with the dimensions of the marriage field growing most rapidly in the smaller parishes. These alternatives need evaluation.

A second possibility might be that no such temporally progressive increase in marriage distance would occur, but rather that for parts of the period when the situation facilitated or necessitated it, marriage distances would increase and on other occasions reflect more localised fields. This could be justified by arguing that natural increase could accommodate marriage demand, reducing the need for external search for partners. Such oscillations in marriage distances might also be associated with economic change, with shorter distances during recession and further search in times of boom. This would match then the variation in levels of exogamy, and numbers marrying which appear to reflect such forces. This second situation implies an ergoidic situation with events in time being mirrored by spatial form (Curry 1962, Harvey 1969 p. 128).

The final situation is one where a fundamental stability might have characterised the dimensions of the marriage field throughout the period. This seems intuitively least likely, but remains a possibility.

To examine these issues is not easy with two samples, for annual and decadal numbers of extraparochial marriages are frequently low for sample sub-groups. This is most noticeable in the record for brides, for the parish groupings in both samples and for Ludlow borough in the regional sample. Consequently, the analysis is restricted and far from ideal. Three approaches are taken. First, the sequence of change in the aggregate records for brides and grooms in both samples is considered, this is followed by an examination of regional variations within the hundreds and boroughs sample and for grooms, between upland and lowland areas, in the rural sample. Reference is made to variation between the parish groupings, but this cannot really be adequately explored with these samples. Thirdly, the levels of exogamy discussed in Chapter Three are considered alongside annual mean marriage distances to evaluate further the proposed possibilities.

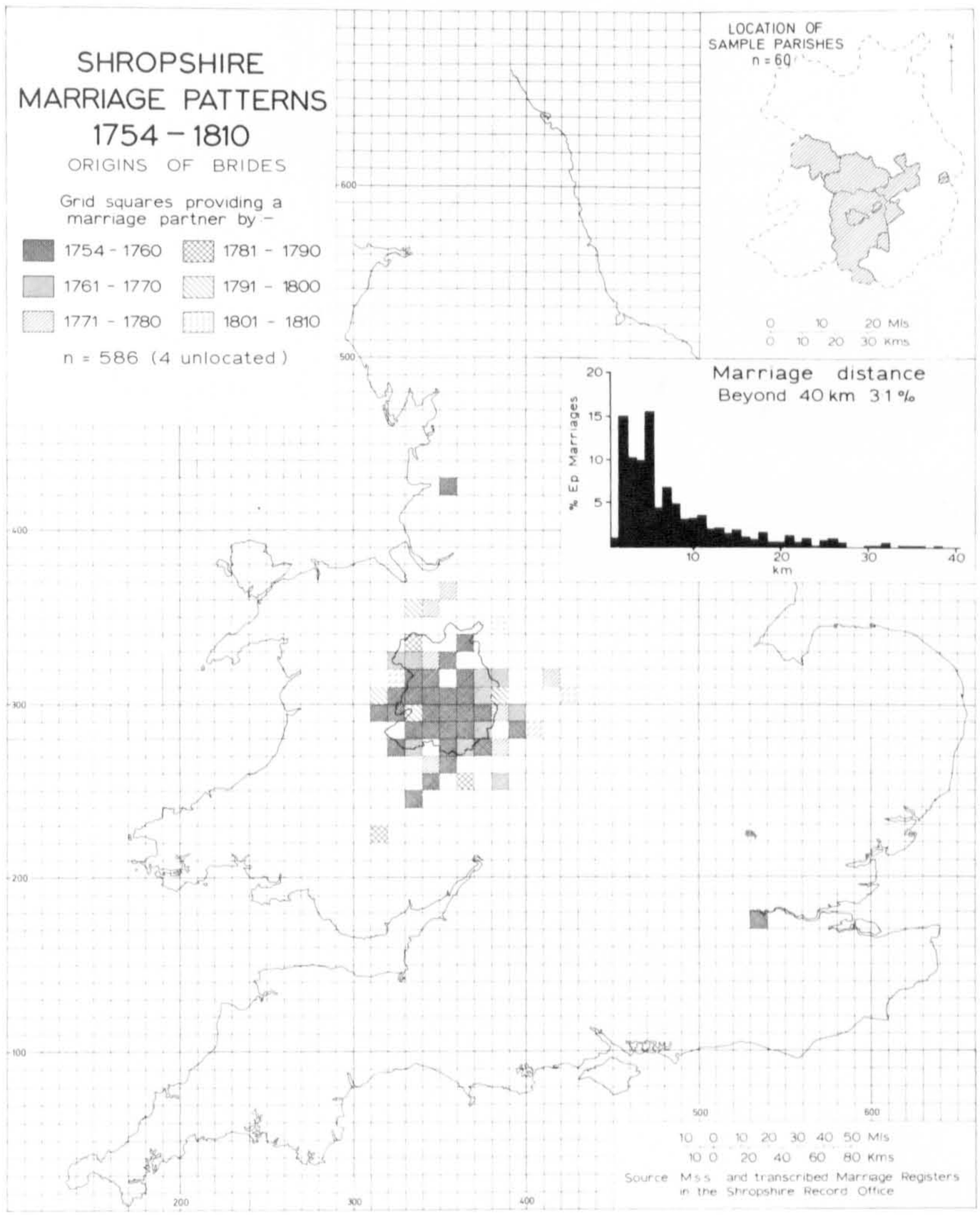
I : The aggregate records

Figures 6.1 and 6.2 indicate that the marriage linkages for both grooms and brides appear to show a gradual extension into a wider area throughout the period. Thus while some cells in the national matrix are listed as origin points relatively early in the period, for example London, parts of the west midlands and Lancashire, the bulk of the more dispersed and distant origins are concentrated in the later decades. Three features emerge from these maps.

First, the local county focus: from 1754-1760, the records of origins for grooms show linkages with most areas in Shropshire in both samples. Thus from the outset of the period, movement on an intra-county level was fairly common. The quartile distributions, for the rural sample, indicate the relative significance of the cells incorporating the county town of Shrewsbury and the eastern coalfield area. The predominance of these cells reflects, in part, the relative location of the sample parishes, but this bias is also evident in the records for parishes in the regional sample, and it seems basic to the pattern.

Secondly, linkages with the urban centres of the west midlands and to other urban areas further afield are apparent at an early date. This wider pattern of early long distance flows is more clearly evident for grooms in the regional than the rural sample. The details of these flows have been discussed in Chapter Five.

Thirdly, these diagrams suggest that between the two poles discussed above, marriage linkages exhibit a gradual increase through time. Thus as time passes, the marriage field shows a pattern of expansion, north, south and eastwards, but with less evidence of such a trend in a westerly direction. Fewer areas in Wales sent men and women into Shropshire to work, and fewer Shropshire men and women saw opportunities in Wales, than in the English towns and shires. These generalisations are most clearly evident in the records for grooms, but also are apparent in the origins



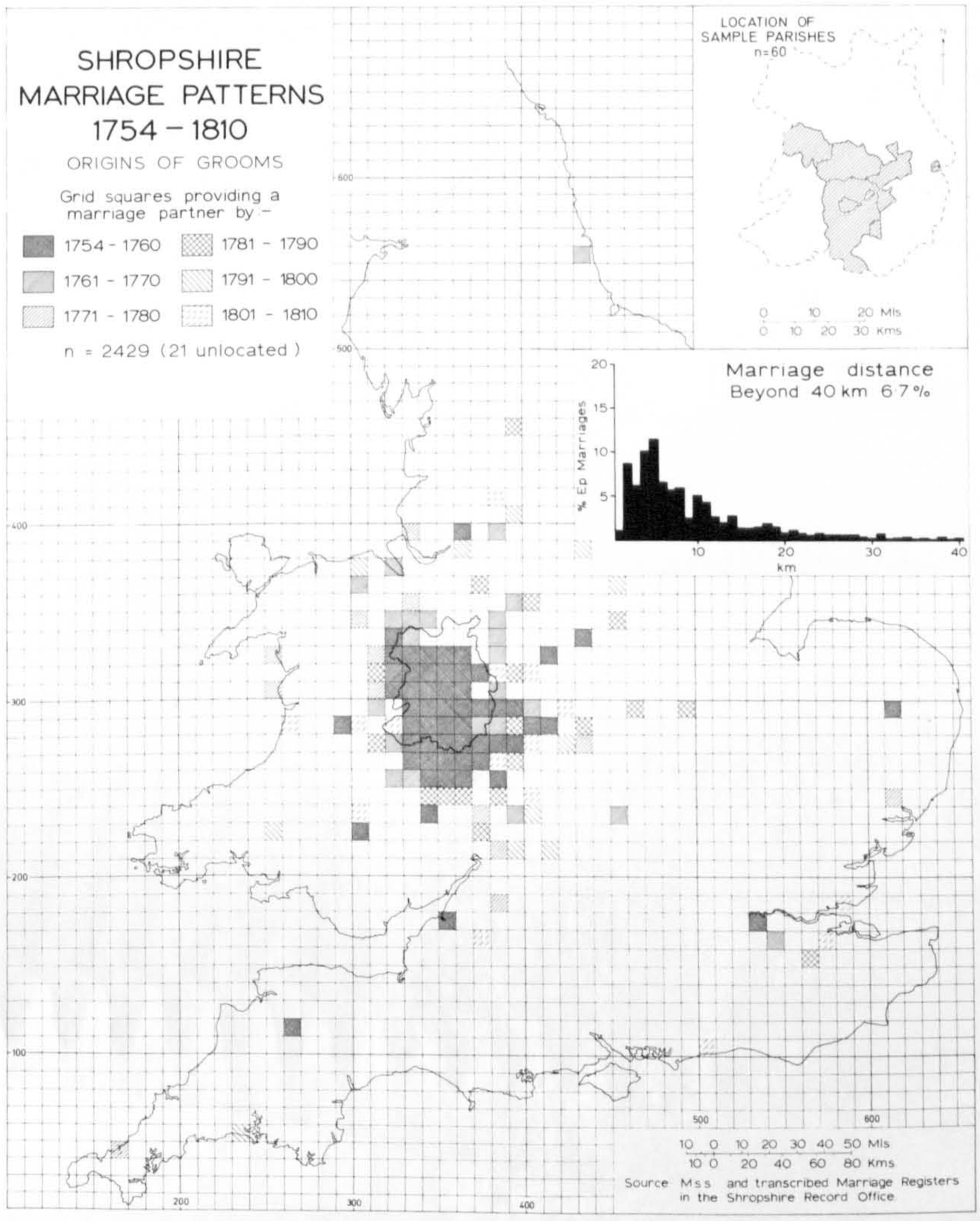
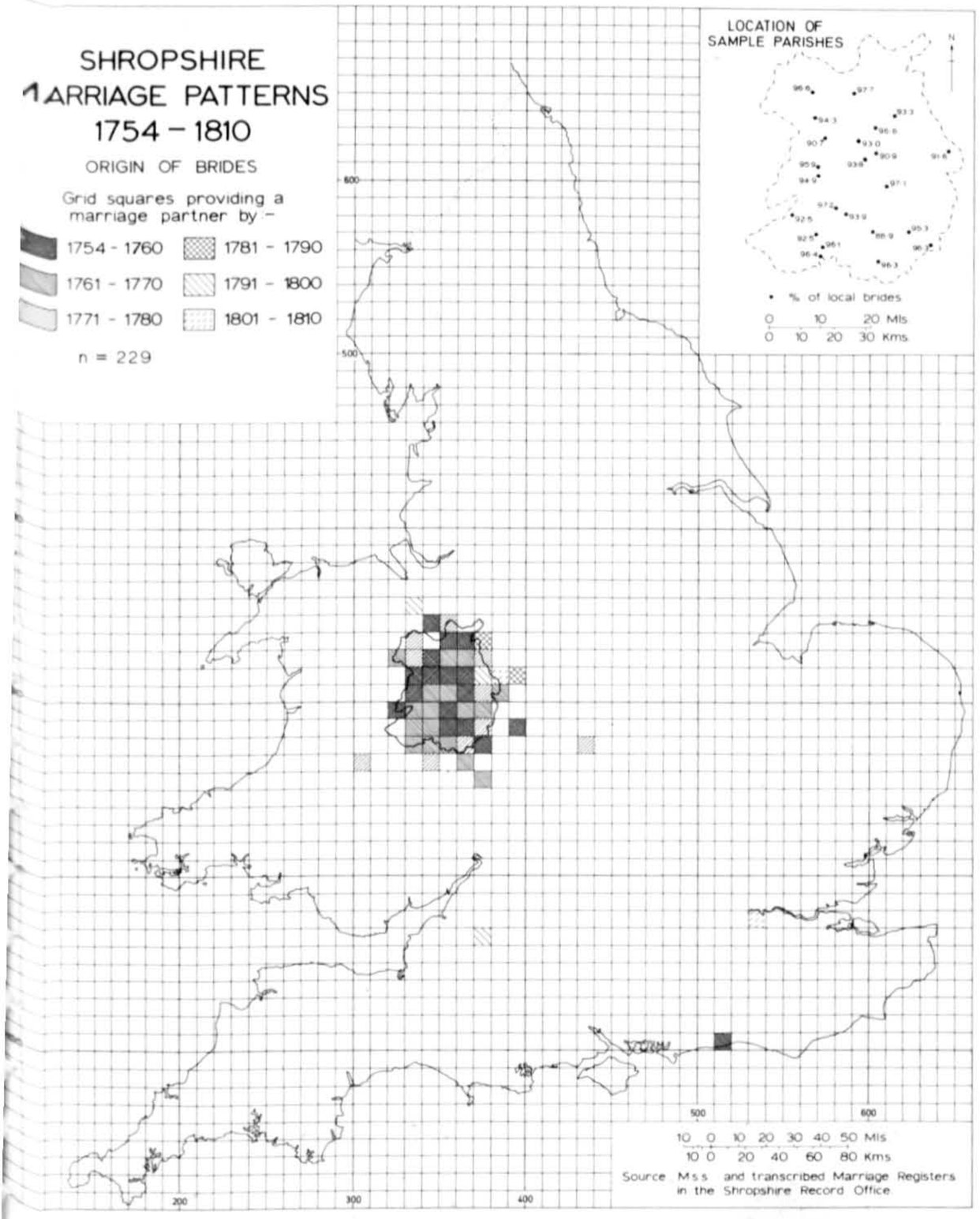
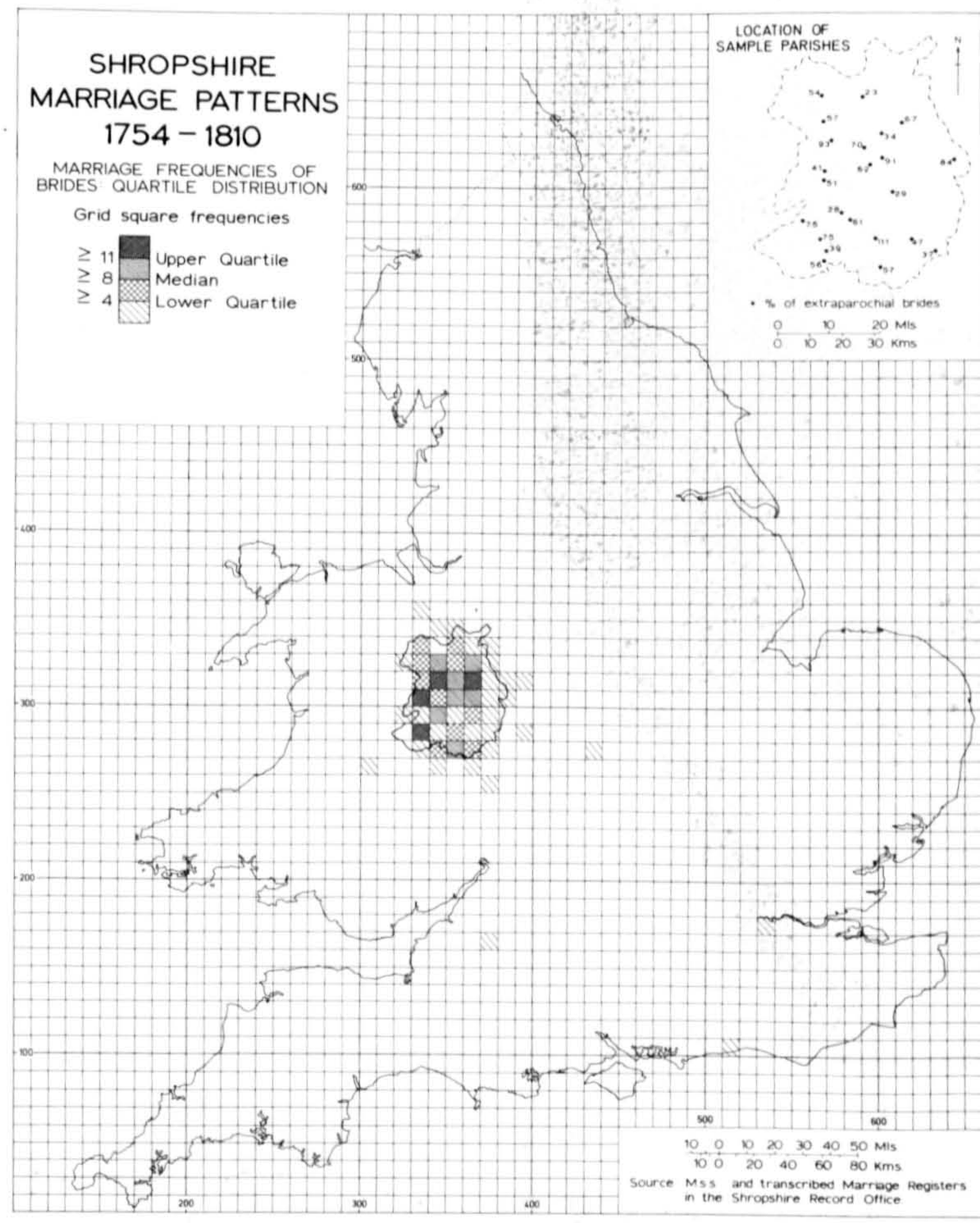
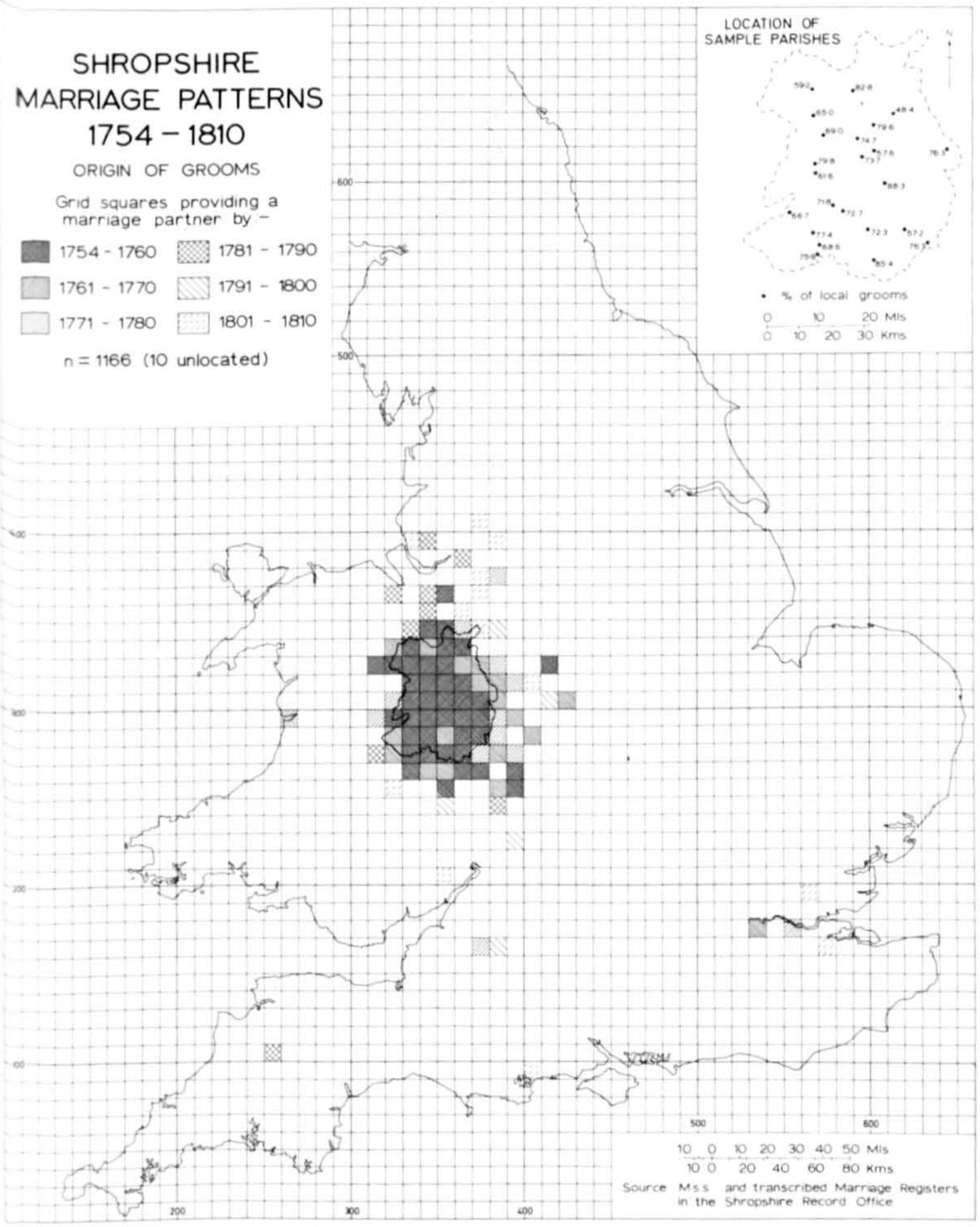


Figure 6.1 Origins of extraparochial brides and grooms in the five hundreds and boroughs 1754-1810.







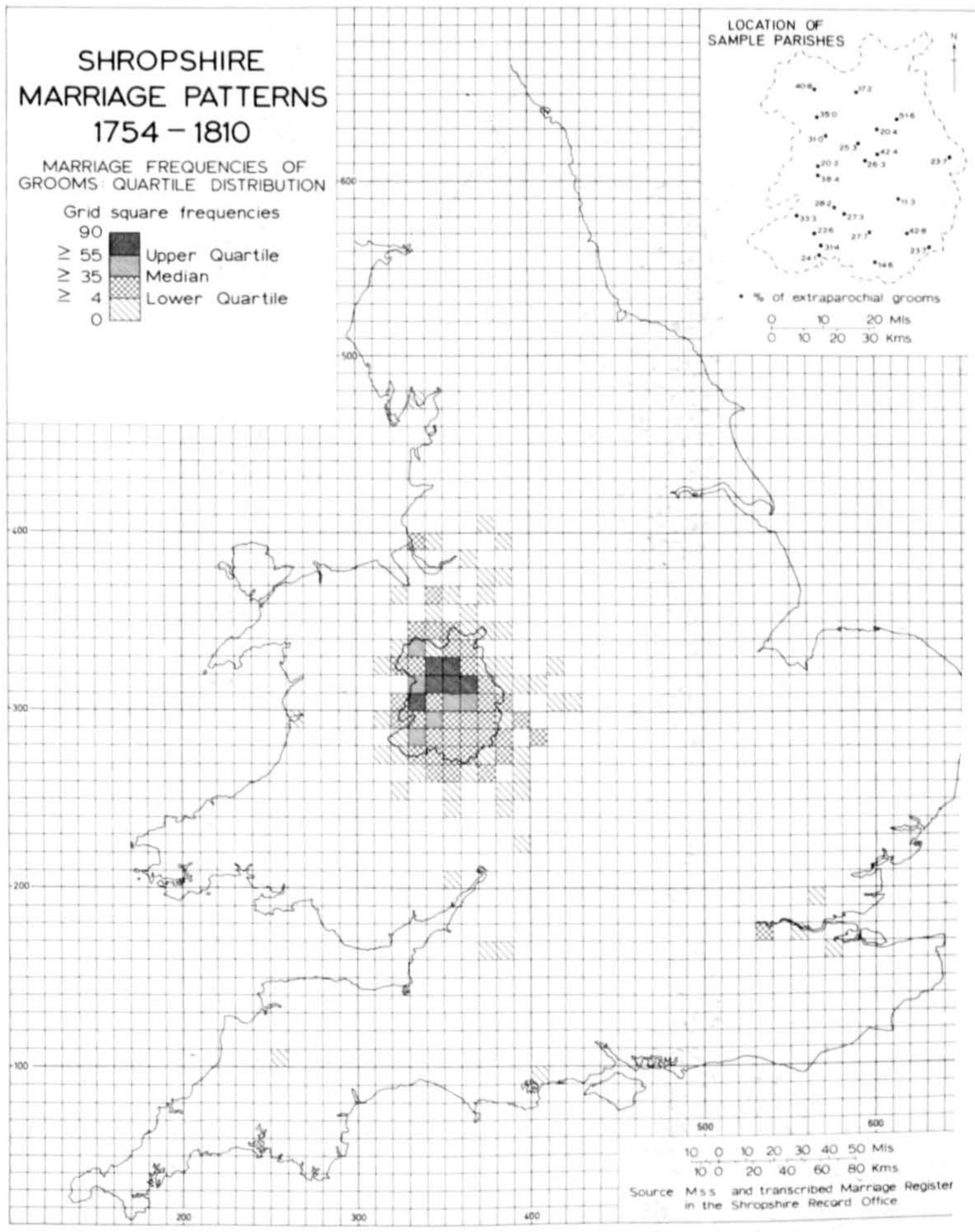


Figure 6.2 Origins of the extraparochial brides and grooms in the rural parish sample 1754-1810.

of brides, though the latter are far less extensive in both samples. These spatial patterns suggest a gradual increase in the dimensions of the marriage field which is worth examining in greater detail.

Table 6.1 documents the salient descriptive statistics of the marriage distance profiles for both brides and grooms. In the regional and rural samples, the records for grooms show a pattern of increasing mean distances. In the rural parishes the range of increase is greater, but is not noticeably contrasting between the samples. Modal and median values are relatively stable, suggesting some consistency in the form of distance decay through time. The bridal records, based on smaller samples, shows more oscillation and, while distances are greater at the end of the period, no progressive expansion is apparent. Figures 6.3 and 6.4 illustrate the changing form of the distance decay profile for both sexes and while those for grooms show some change, the more localised records for brides show greater stability.

This is confirmed when the cumulative profiles are compared through time. No significant difference is evident in the bridal profiles in either sample, suggesting that their patterns of linkage remained stable throughout the period. The record for grooms in the regional sample indicates comparable stability if considered in sequence, for no significant differences in profile are established. However, considered out of sequence, the profile for the years from 1754-1760 differs significantly from those of 1781-90 (Ks Od = 0.1050 S 0.05 = 0.1000) and the final decade 1801-10 (Ks Od = 0.1020 S 0.05 = 0.1020). In the rural sample, the profile of marriage distances from 1754-1760 differs significantly from the decades, 1771-80 (Ks Od = 0.1550 S 0.05 = 0.1341), 1781-90 (Ks Od = 0.2189 S 0.01 = 0.1758), 1791-1800 (Ks Od = 0.1604 S 0.05 = 0.1479) and 1801-10 (Ks = Od 0.1689 S 0.05 = 0.1441) and a difference is also identified between the period 1761-70 and 1801-10 (Ks Od = 0.1342 S 0.05 = 0.1341), but no other differences are recognised as significant. These

Table 6.1 The stability of marriage distances 1754-1810 (kilometres)

GROOMS	REGIONAL SAMPLE				10% RURAL SHROPSHIRE			
	N	Md	mode	median	N	Md	mode	median
1754-1760	346	12.8	5	7	171	10.1	3	6
1761-1770	508	14.3	5	7	248	11.7	5	8
1771-1780	469	15.5	5	7	242	14.8	5	8
1781-1790	390	17.9	5	7	166	16.1	5	9
1791-1800	352	15.5	5	8	162	16.3	3	10
1801-1810	364	19.1	5	6	177	22.2	6	9
BRIDES								
1754-1760	95	12.2	2	7	25	20.0	3	7
1761-1770	111	10.2	5	5	52	9.0	3	6
1771-1780	98	9.0	2	5	45	10.9	6	7
1781-1790	95	8.3	2	5	28	7.6	3	6
1791-1800	87	11.0	5	6	40	11.6	3	5
1801-1810	100	9.3	5	5	39	14.4	5	6

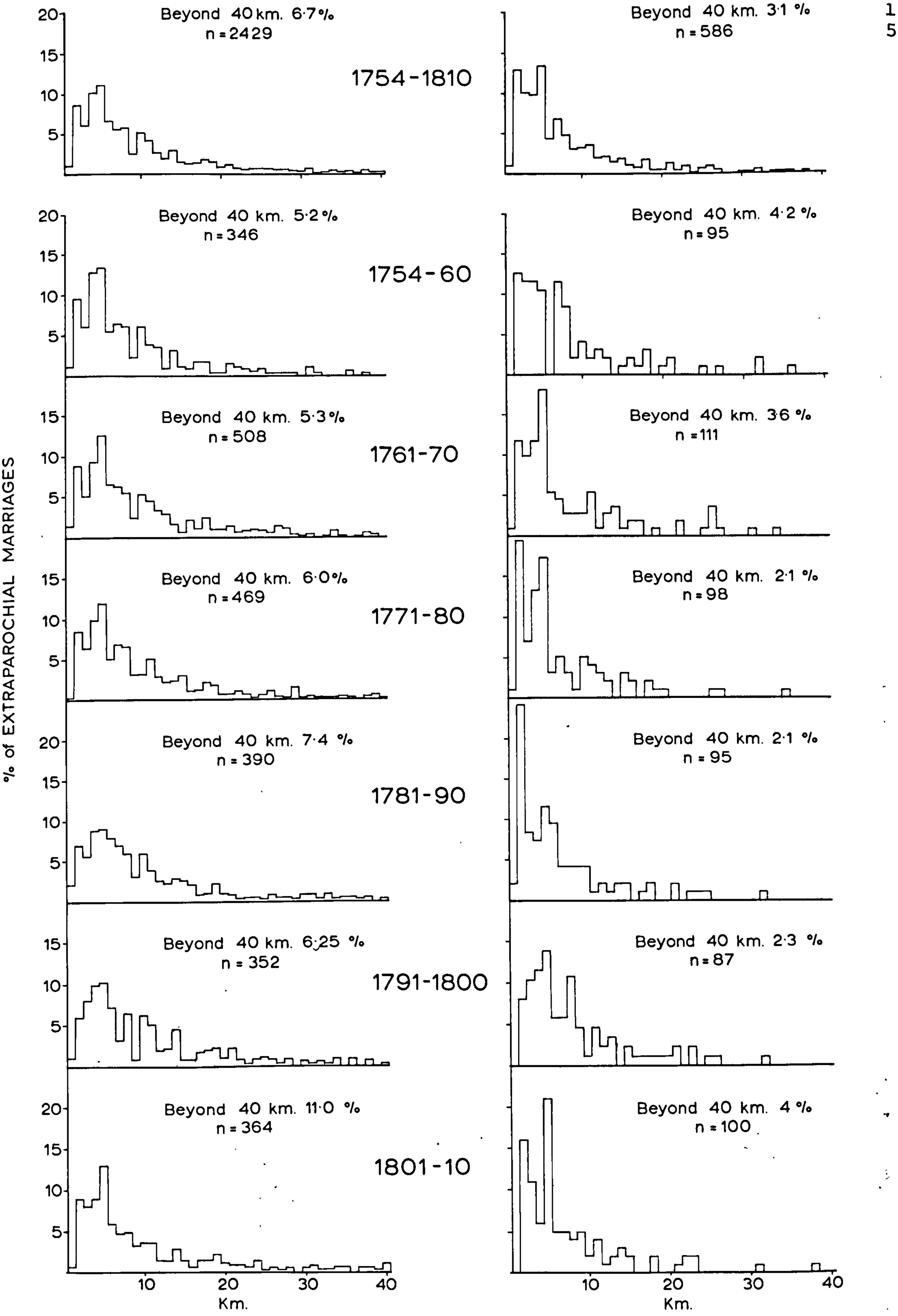


Figure 6.3 Distance-decay profiles of marriage contact through time : hundreds and boroughs sample.

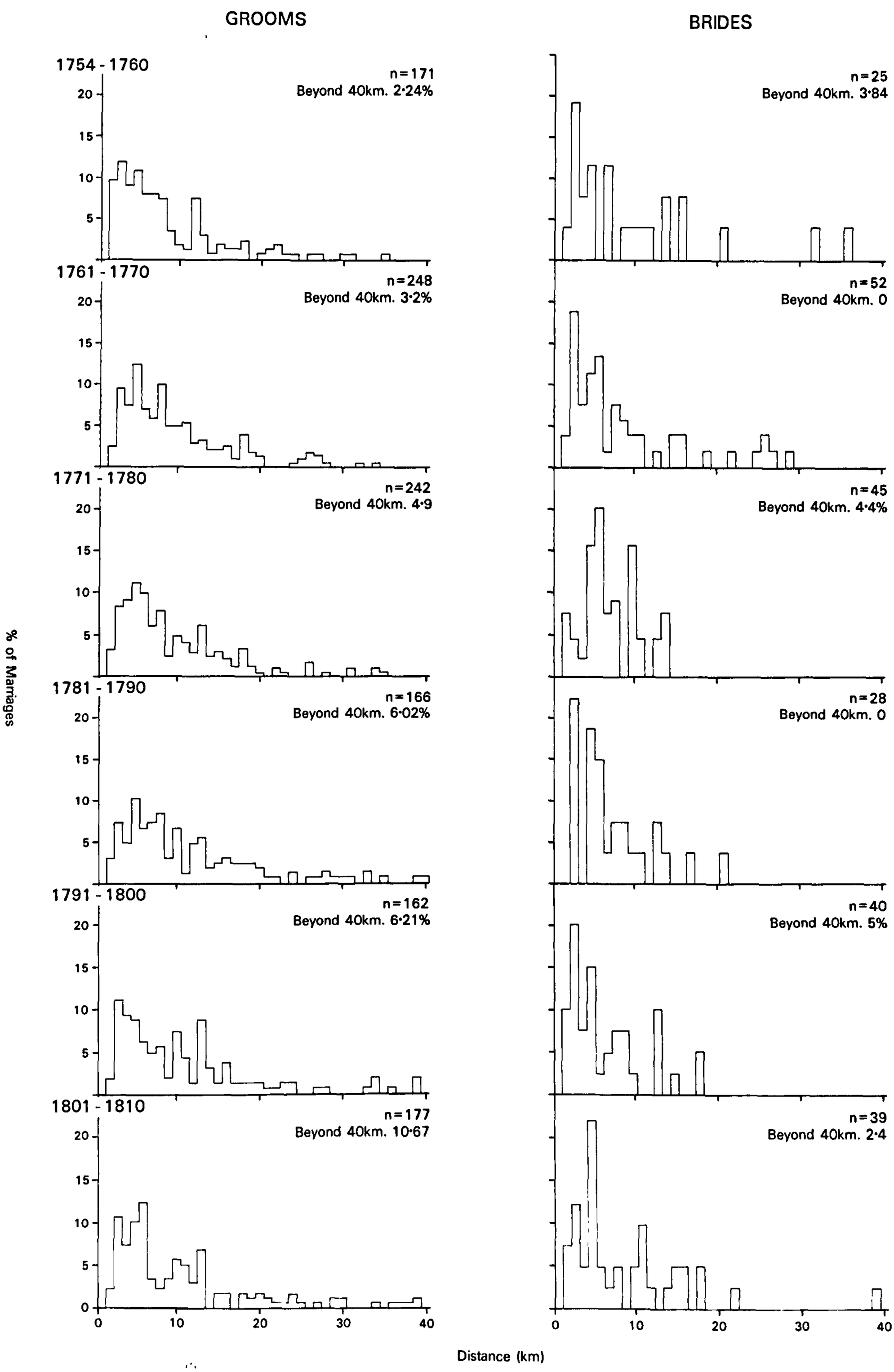


Figure 6.4 Distance-decay profiles of marriage contact through time : rural sample.

findings emphasise the point that any change which did occur over these years in the dimensions of the marriage field were gradual rather than dramatic.

When comparison is made between the distance-decay profiles for brides and grooms, surprisingly, no significant differences (0.05) can be established in the rural sample, even with their contrasting visual profiles. In the regional sample, the same is true for the years 1754-1760 and in the final decade. However, in the intervening period from 1761-1800 the records are judged to differ significantly. These similarities may reflect the insensitivity of the testing procedure and its heavy dependence on differences evident in the early stages of the distribution rather than strict comparability, for the profiles are visually contrasting.

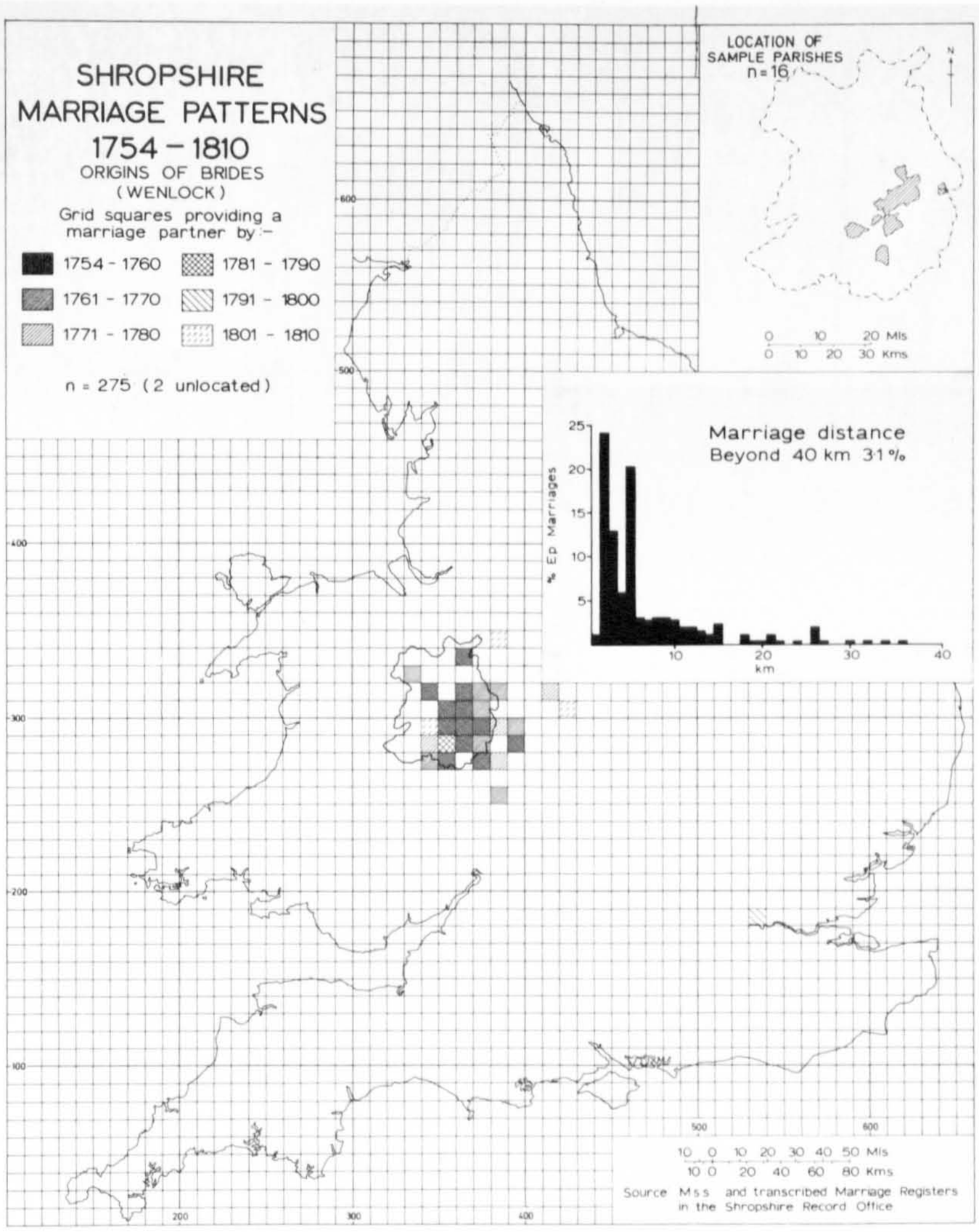
It therefore appears (Table 6.1) that at an aggregate level for grooms there is evidence of a gradual increase in the range from which they travelled to their parishes of solemnisation and, in a less regular manner, the same is true for brides. The increase produces statistically significant contrasts for grooms in the regional sample in the form of distance-decay between the beginning of the period and the end; while in the rural sample, the first period differs from all those after 1770. The change which did occur was incremental rather than dramatic, as the gradual shift in mean distances emphasises and the stability of the modes and medians confirms. Change is most clearly marked in the increasing proportions drawn from beyond 40 km. in the record for grooms (Figures 6.3 and 6.4).

II : The sub-samples

Given the relative stability of marriage profiles at an aggregate level and the lower sample size when disaggregated, many interesting questions can only be tentatively explored. Inevitably, the record for brides cannot be disaggregated. The record for grooms can however indicate something of the temporal variation evident for different regional areas (hundreds and boroughs), between upland and lowland settings and between the different demographic grades of parish.

The growth of the marriage field in each hundred and borough is documented in Figures 6.5 and 6.9 and in the descriptive statistics presented in Table 6.2. In each area similar features to those identified for the aggregate pattern are evident in the mapped pattern, biassed to some degree by relative location. Ford hundred, lying on the western boundary of the county, clearly shows the least extensive marriage territory (Figure 6.9), with later contacts to the west midlands area. The marriage fields for grooms in the other four areas are similar in form, though Ludlow's record involves proportionally more longer distance contacts (Figure 6.7). The bridal records are in each case more localised. For both sexes there is evidence of a progressive extension of the field through time.

Table 6.2 indicates that in none of the regional areas was there a continuous increase in marriage distances through the period. Munslow, Ford and Condover exhibit rising distances until 1790, Wenlock and Ludlow until 1780, in each case followed by a slump. Declining marriage distances characterise the next two decades in Condover and Ford, but in the other three areas by the end of period distances are greater than at any time previously. The record for Ludlow is different from those for the other areas which show broadly comparable mean marriage distances. As in the aggregate analysis, the modes and medians change little though they do oscillate. It is noticeable from this Table that different



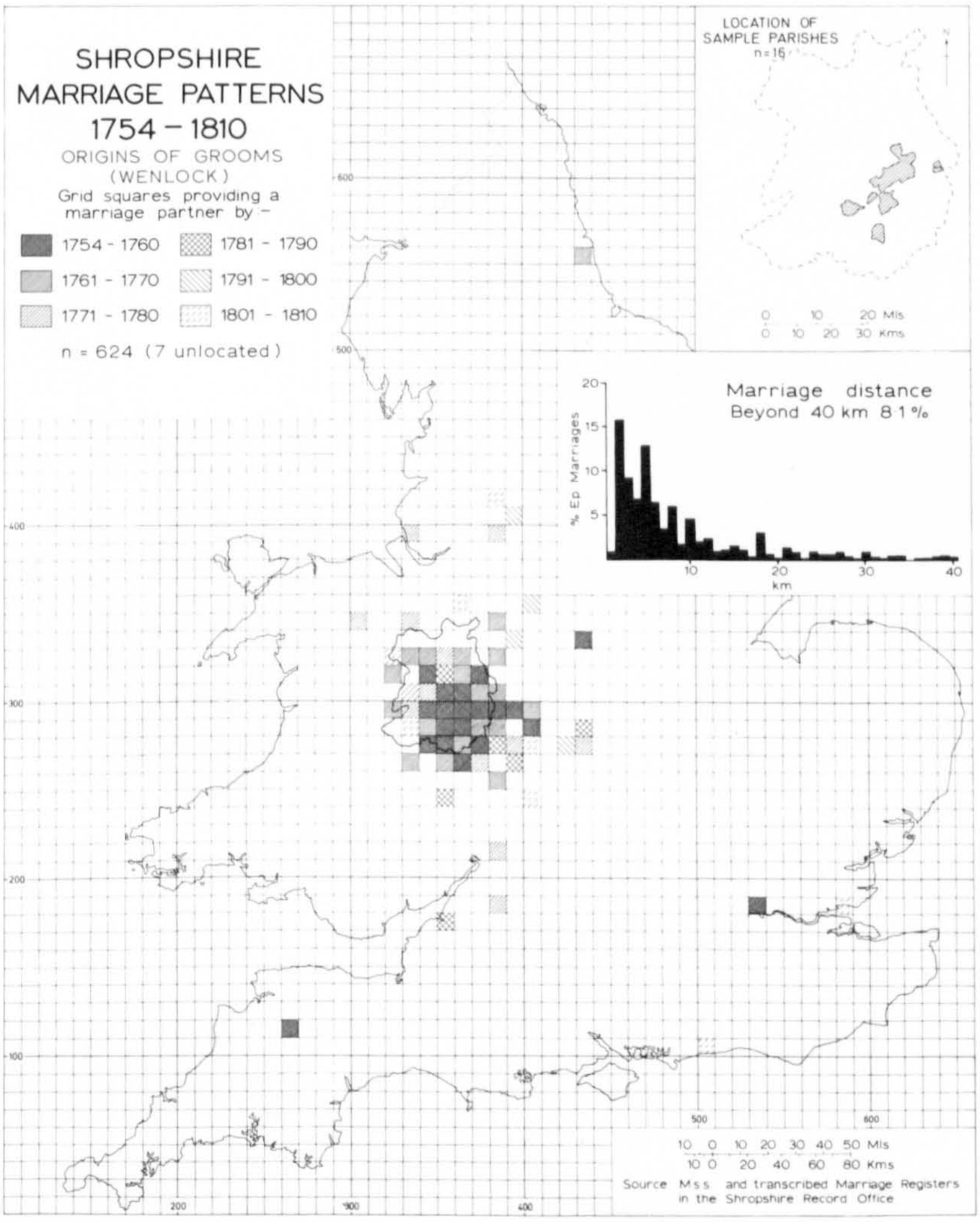
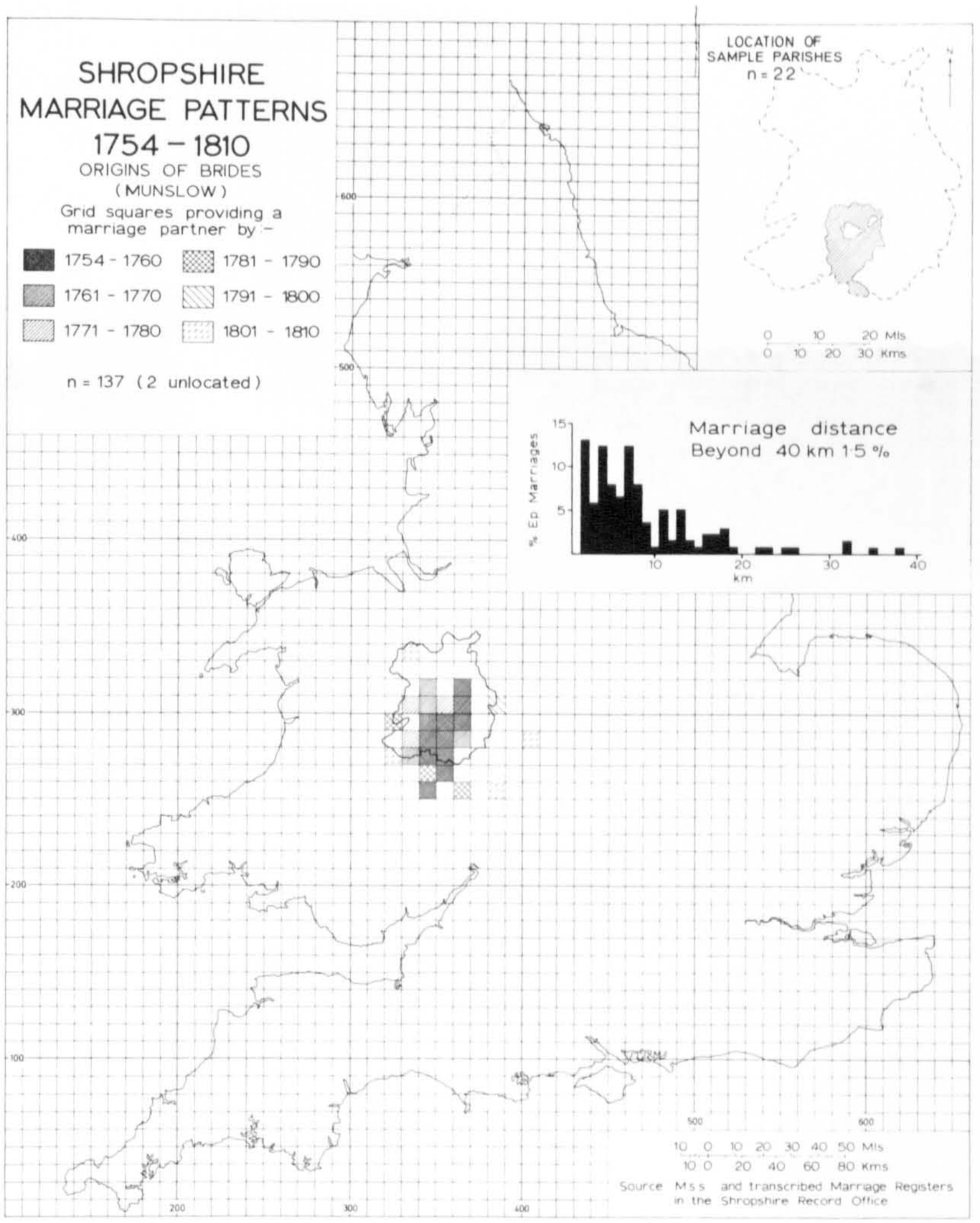


Figure 6.5 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in the borough of Wenlock.



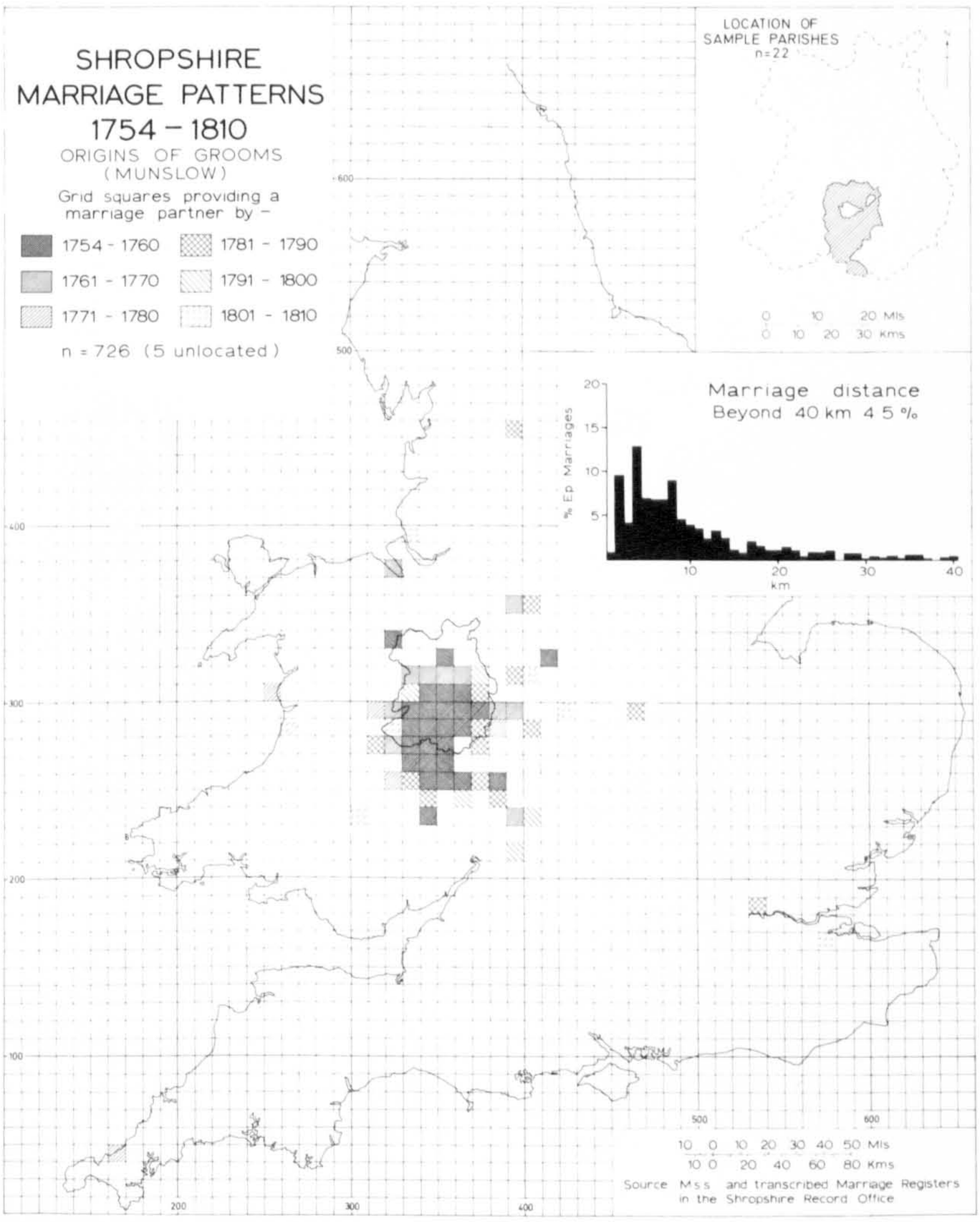
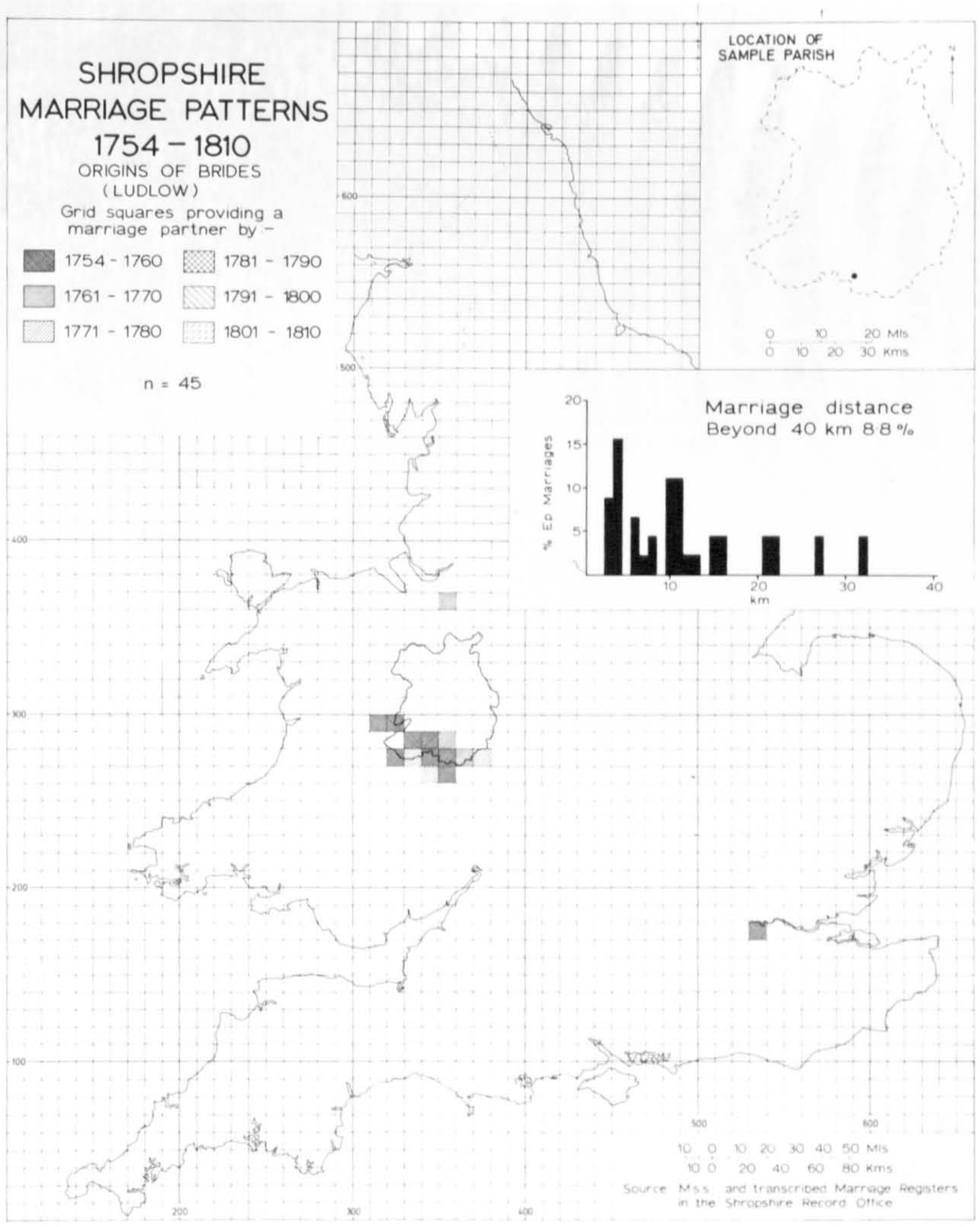


Figure 6.6 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in the hundred of Munslow.



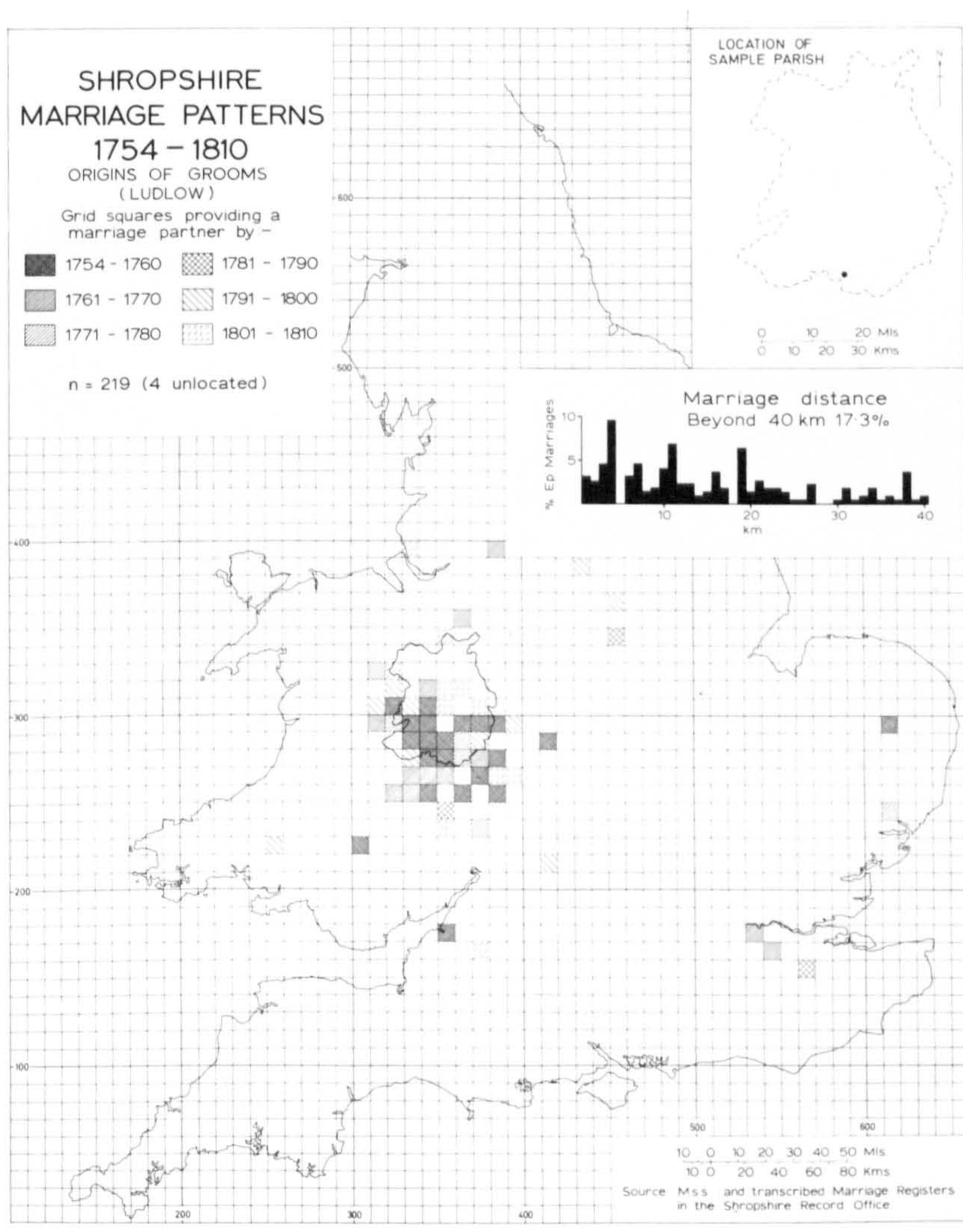
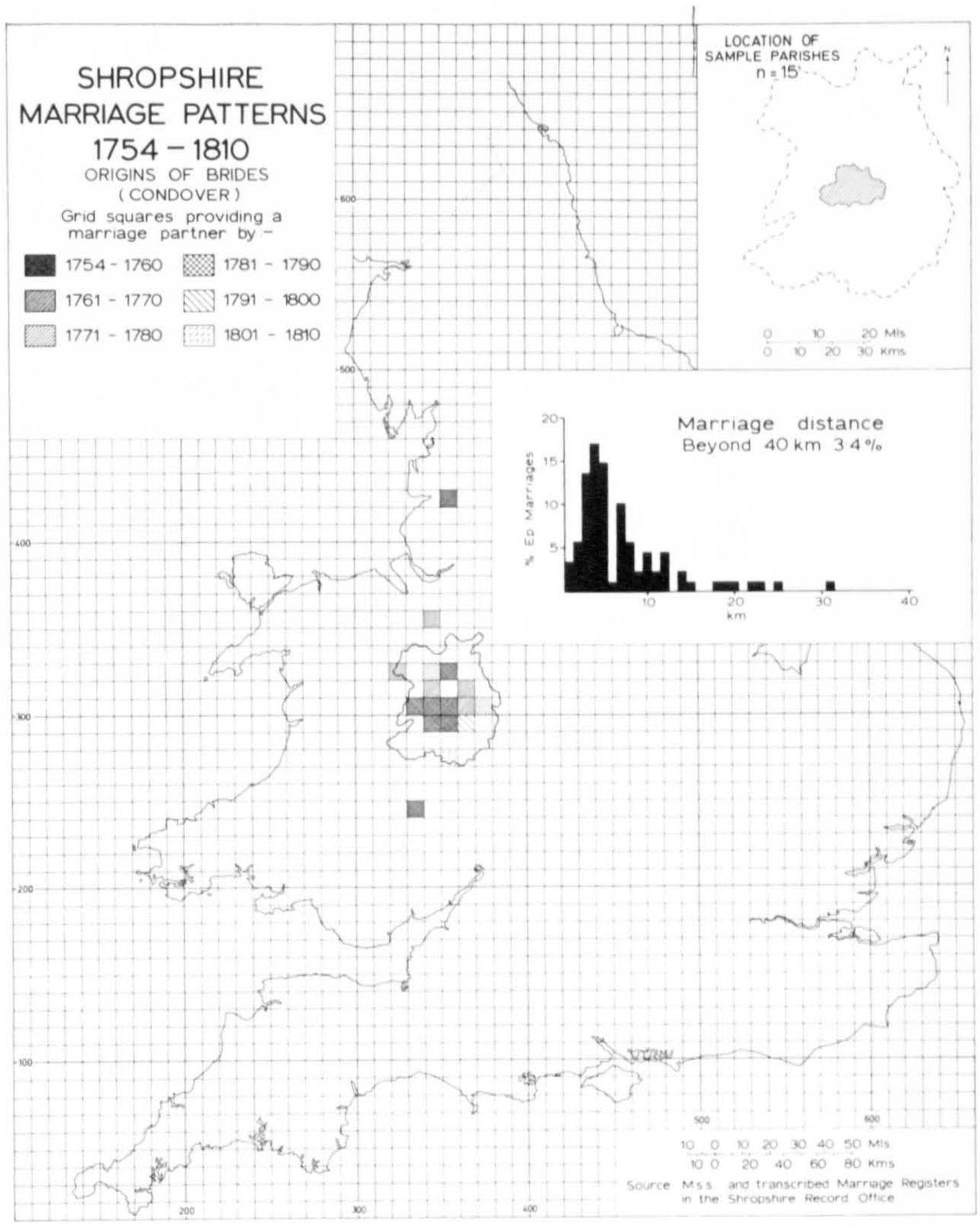


Figure 6.7 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in the borough of Ludlow.



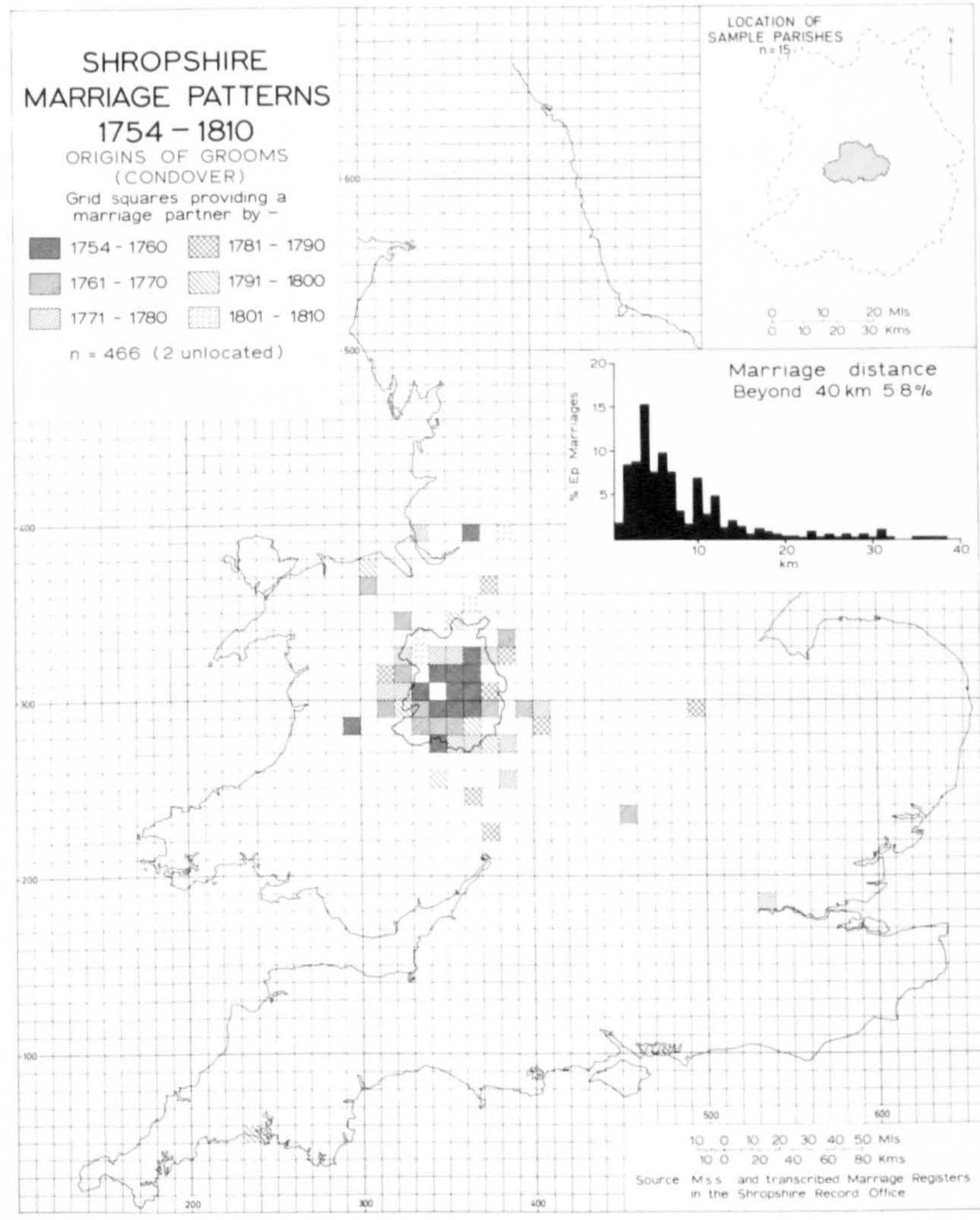
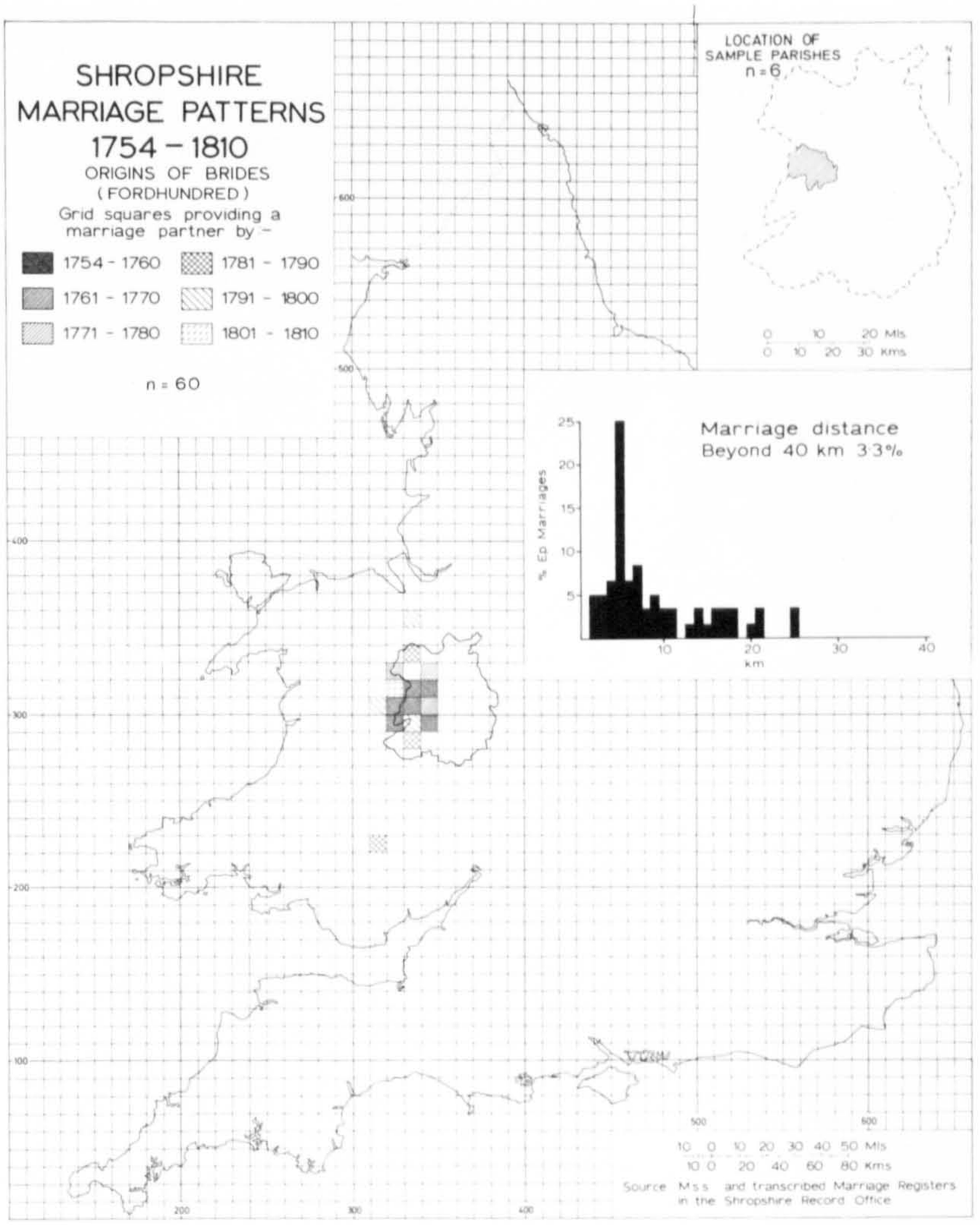


Figure 6.8 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in the hundred of Condover.



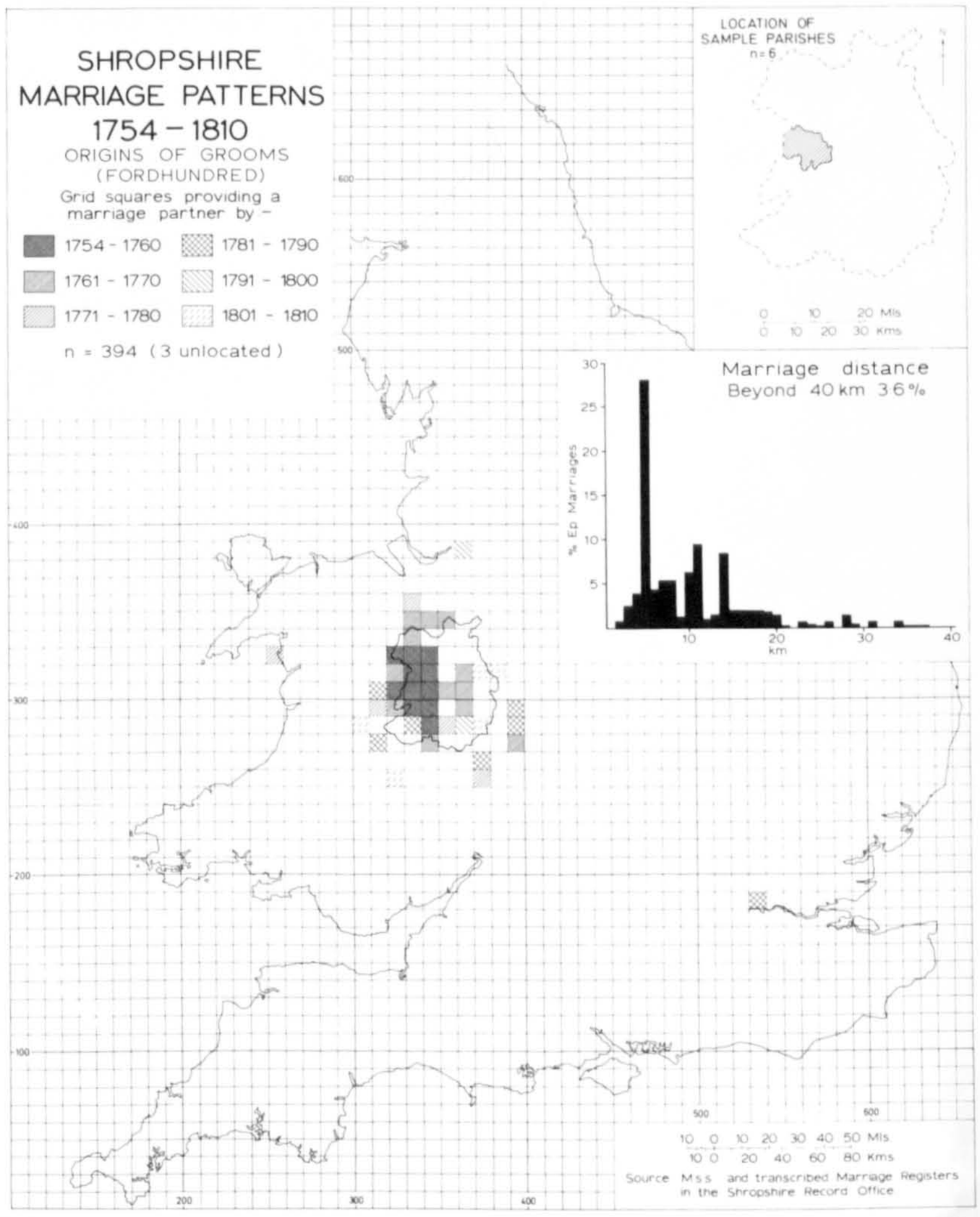


Figure 6.9 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in the hundred of Ford.

Table 6.2 The stability of marriage distances in five hundreds and boroughs 1754-1810 for extraparochial grooms

(Kilometres)

Modal values	Wenlock	Munslow	Ludlow	Condover	Ford
1754-1760	2	4	6	4	5
1761-1770	2	4	4	4	5
1771-1780	2	4	11 & 16	5	5
1781-1790	2 & 5	4	4	7	5
1791-1800	5	4	4	4	5
1801-1810	5	2	4	5	5
Median values					
1754-1760	5	7	18	5	8
1761-1770	7	7	11	6	8
1771-1780	6	8	16	7	7
1781-1790	5	8	11.5	7	10
1791-1800	6	8	17	7	11
1801-18L0	7	8	23	5	6
Mean distances					
1754-1760	12.1	11.2	30.4	9.2	10.0
1761-1770	14.1	12.1	32.8	11.5	10.4
1771-1780	15.3	14.1	36.2	17.3	12.5
1781-1790	14.3	17.4	30.8	17.7	17.9
1791-1800	12.3	11.5	35.6	14.0	13.6
1801-1810	24.2	19.5	39.0	8.8	12.3

Table 6.3 Regional variations in marriage distances : upland and lowland contacts for extraparochial grooms in rural Shropshire

	Grooms Upland (Kilometres)				Grooms Lowland (Kilometres)			
	n	md	mode	median	n	md	mode	median
1754-1760	62	11.8	7	7	109	9.2	5	7
1761-1170	97	14.7	5	7	151	9.7	3	7
1771-1780	91	19.1	3/4	6	151	12.3	6	7
1781-1790	63	16.6	5	8	103	15.8	6	10
1791-1800	50	14.0	3	8.5	112	17.4	13	9.9
1801-1810	69	23.5	4	9	108	21.5	6	10.0
Total	432	16.6	5	8	734	13.8	6	8

interpretations could be made of the relative scale of the marriage fields in each area depending on which descriptive parameter is referred to.

Examination of the distance decay profiles through time in each regional area reveals very little variation in the pattern of contact over the period. Only in the borough of Wenlock can a significant difference be identified between the years 1754-60 and the final decade 1801-10 (Ks = Od 0.2110 S 0.05 = 0.2060); in all other areas no difference can be identified between the profiles either in or out of sequence. When comparisons are made between areas for each time unit, it is only Ludlow which stands out as consistently different from other areas, elsewhere a remarkable uniformity of marriage distance profile prevails.

It therefore appears that the relationships evident in the aggregate data are not widely sustained in the records for individual hundredsand boroughs. This may in part arise from the smaller sample size in these disaggregations. Wider marriage horizons are, however, characteristic of the market town of Ludlow throughout the period, as the descriptive statistics testify. Regional location does not appear to affect the distance-decay profiles in this sample very much.

The sample drawn from rural Shropshire allows this theme to be explored further. When these data are split between parishes located in the northern plain and the southern hills it is clear that differences exist in the orientation and range of marriage fields. As Figures 6.10 and 6.11 reveal, both relief zones show the same progressive expansion of the marriage field with more distant cells being contacted at a later date. What emerges too, is the bias towards the east and south east in the upland sample compared to the more symmetrical field associated with the lowland parishes.

The record of origins for grooms recorded in the lowland parishes (Figure 6.10) encompasses the whole of the county, even though the quartile

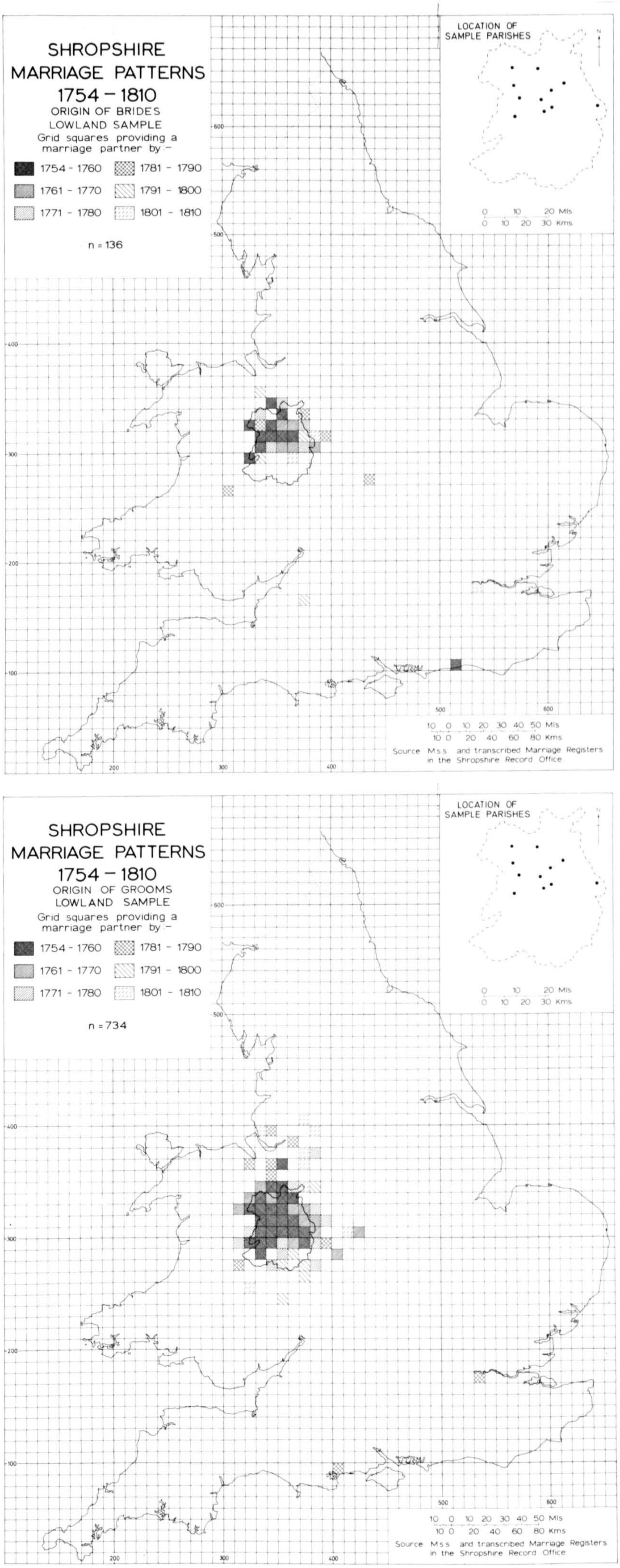
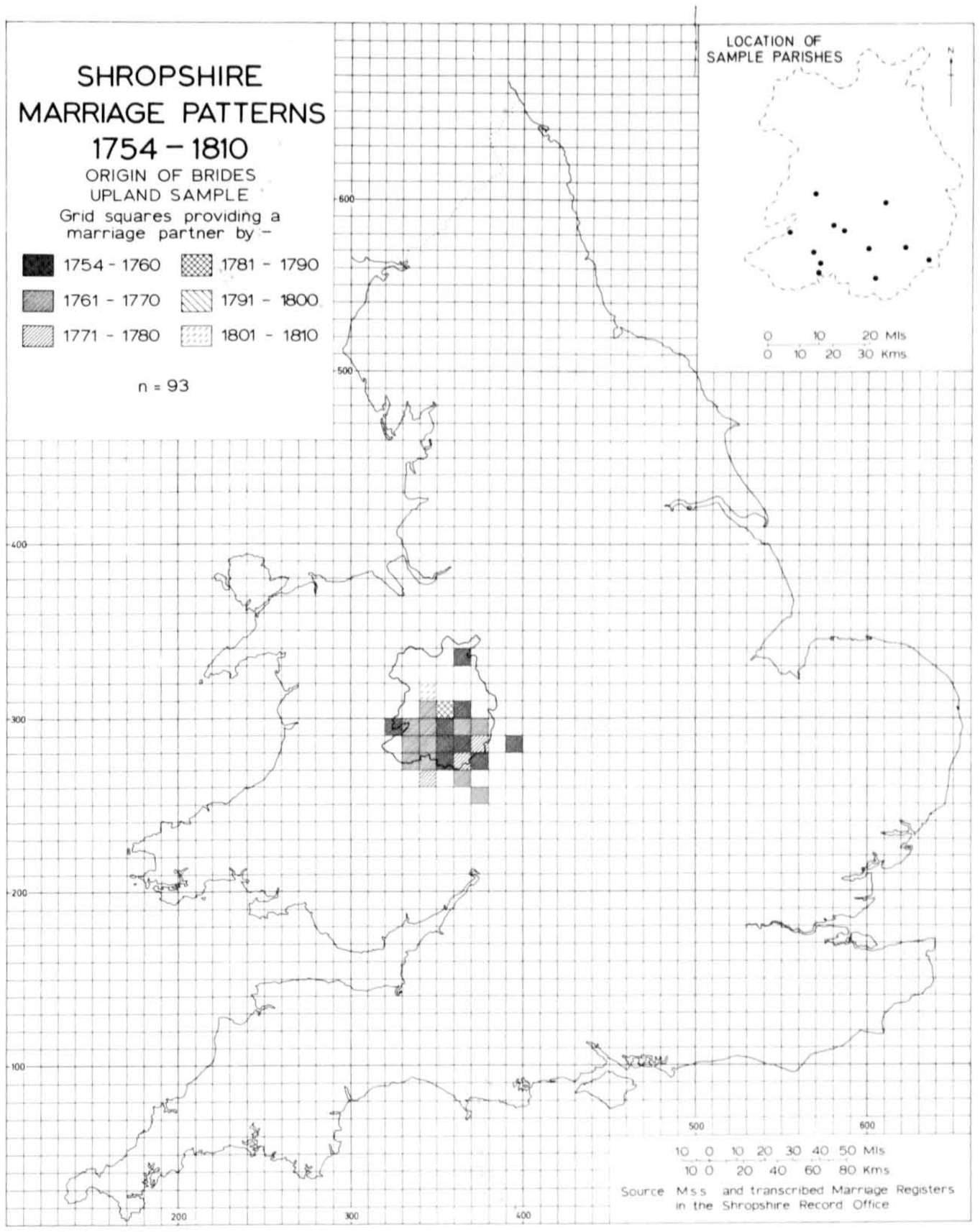


Figure 6.10 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in the lowland rural parishes.



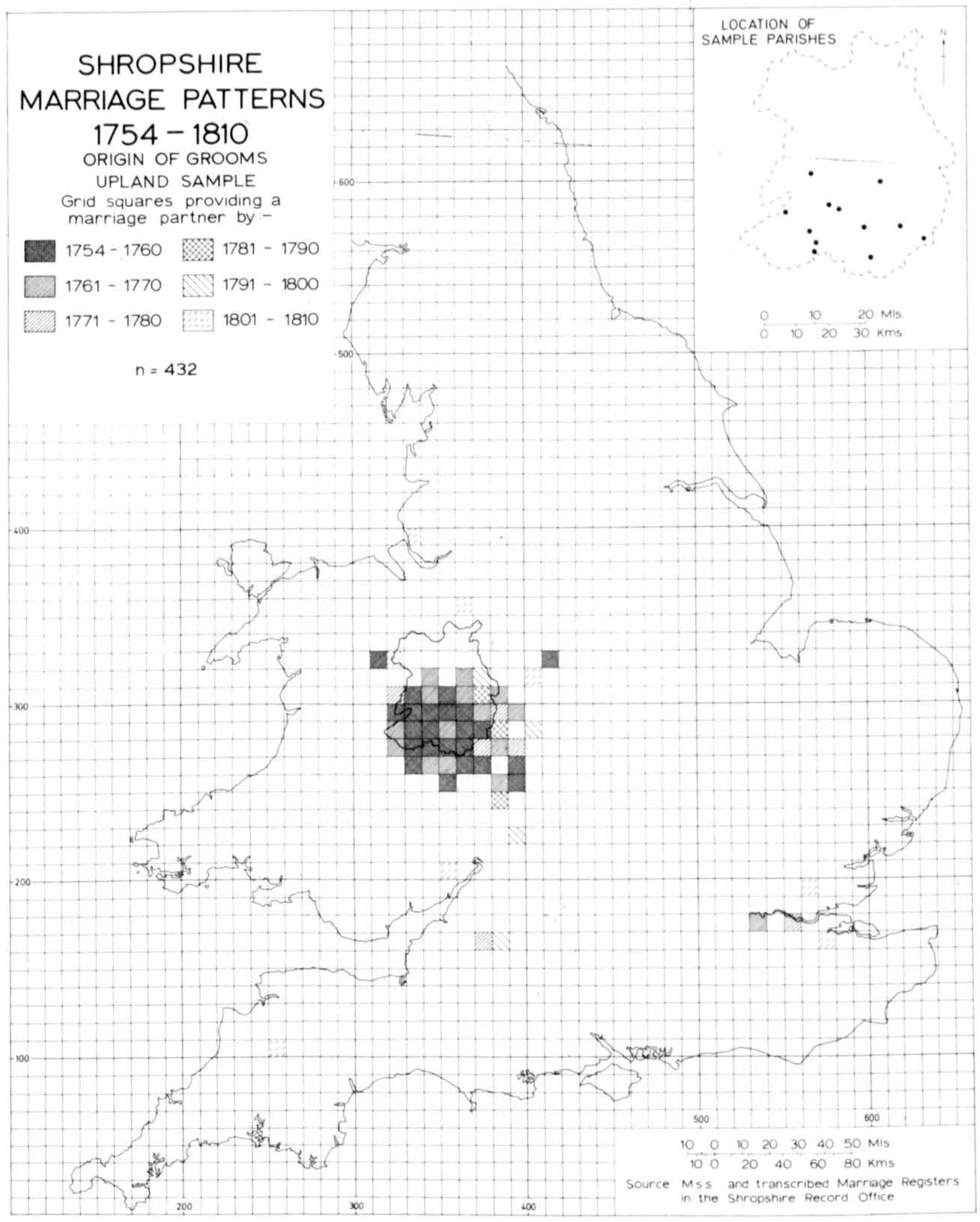
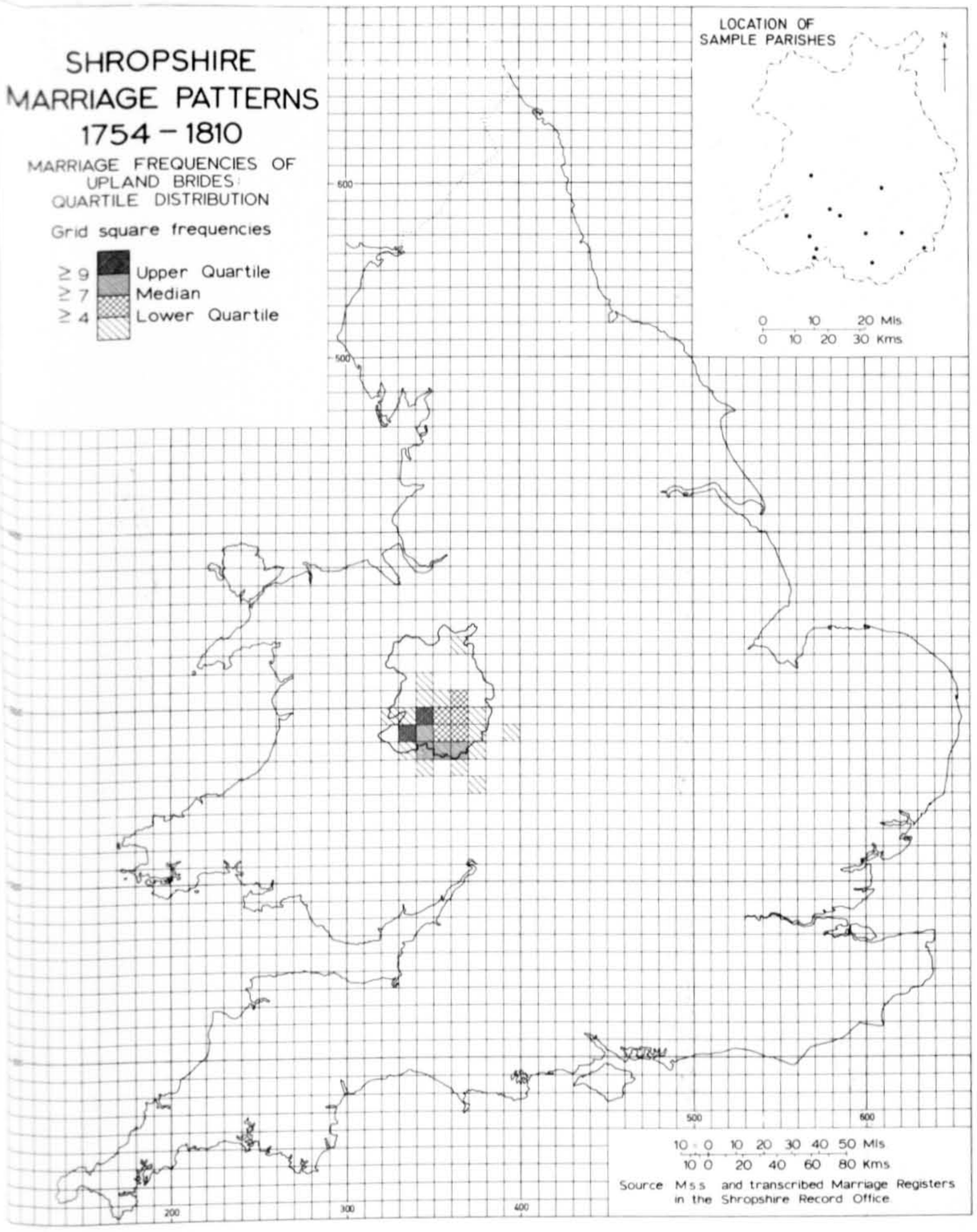
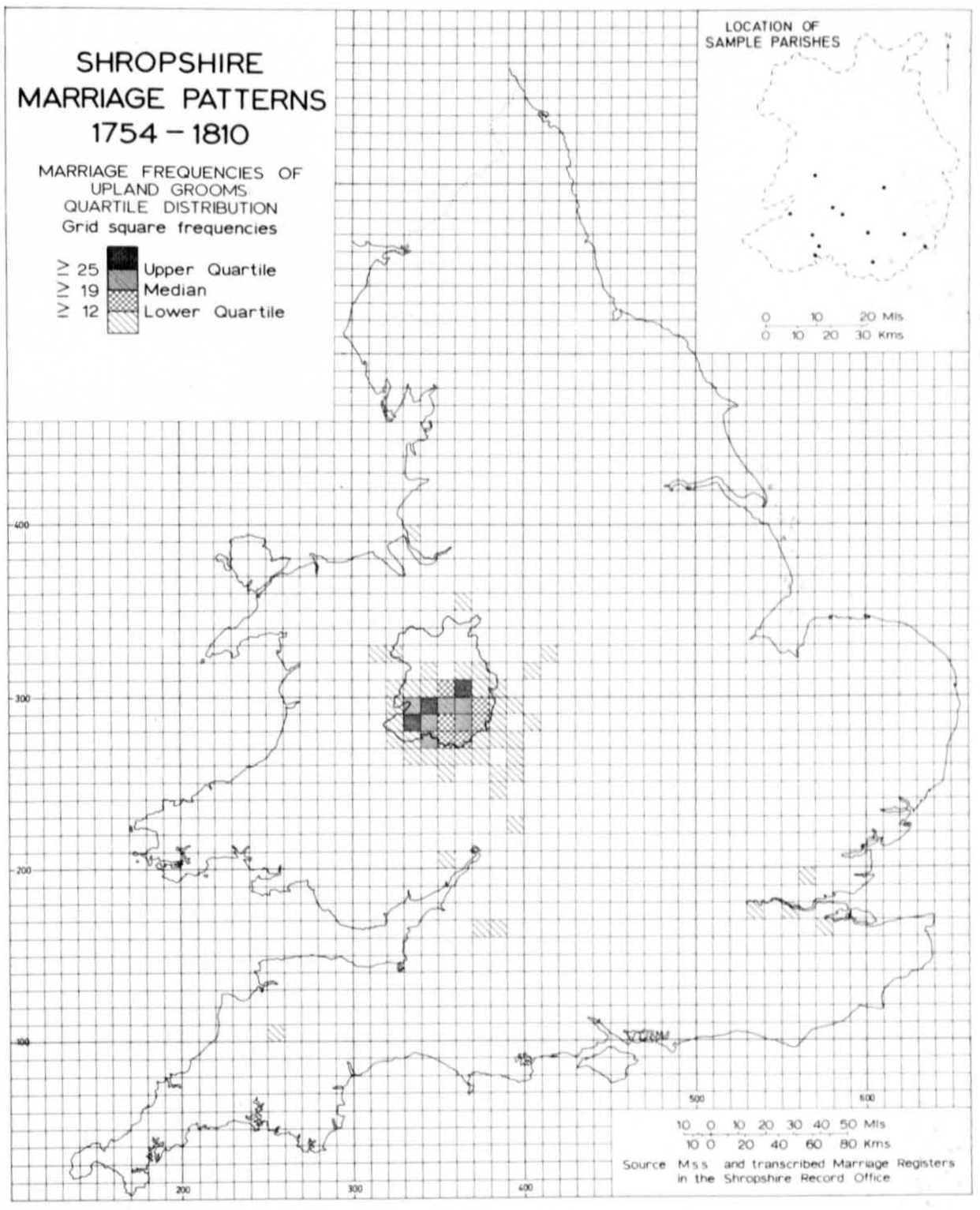
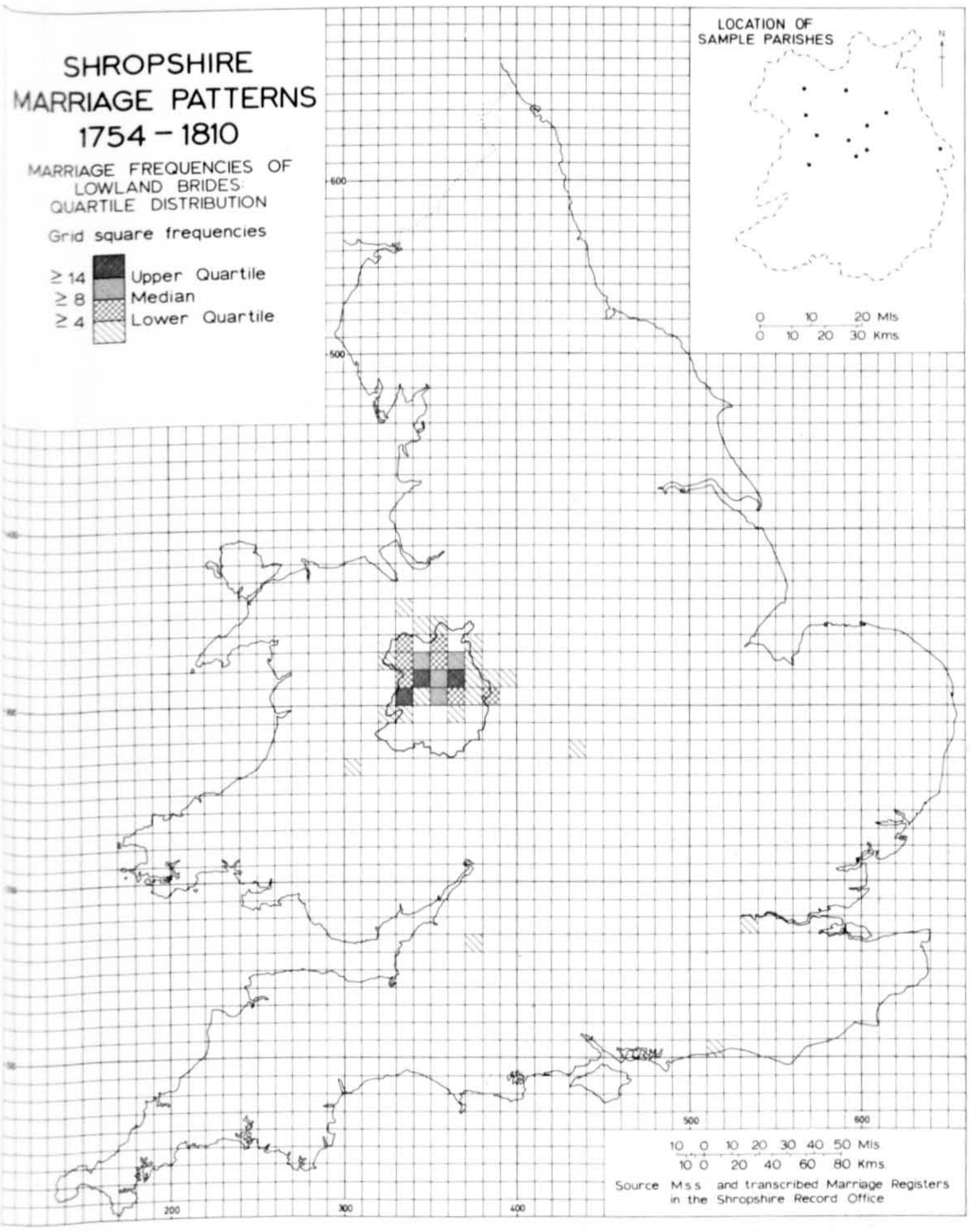


Figure 6.11 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in the upland rural sample.







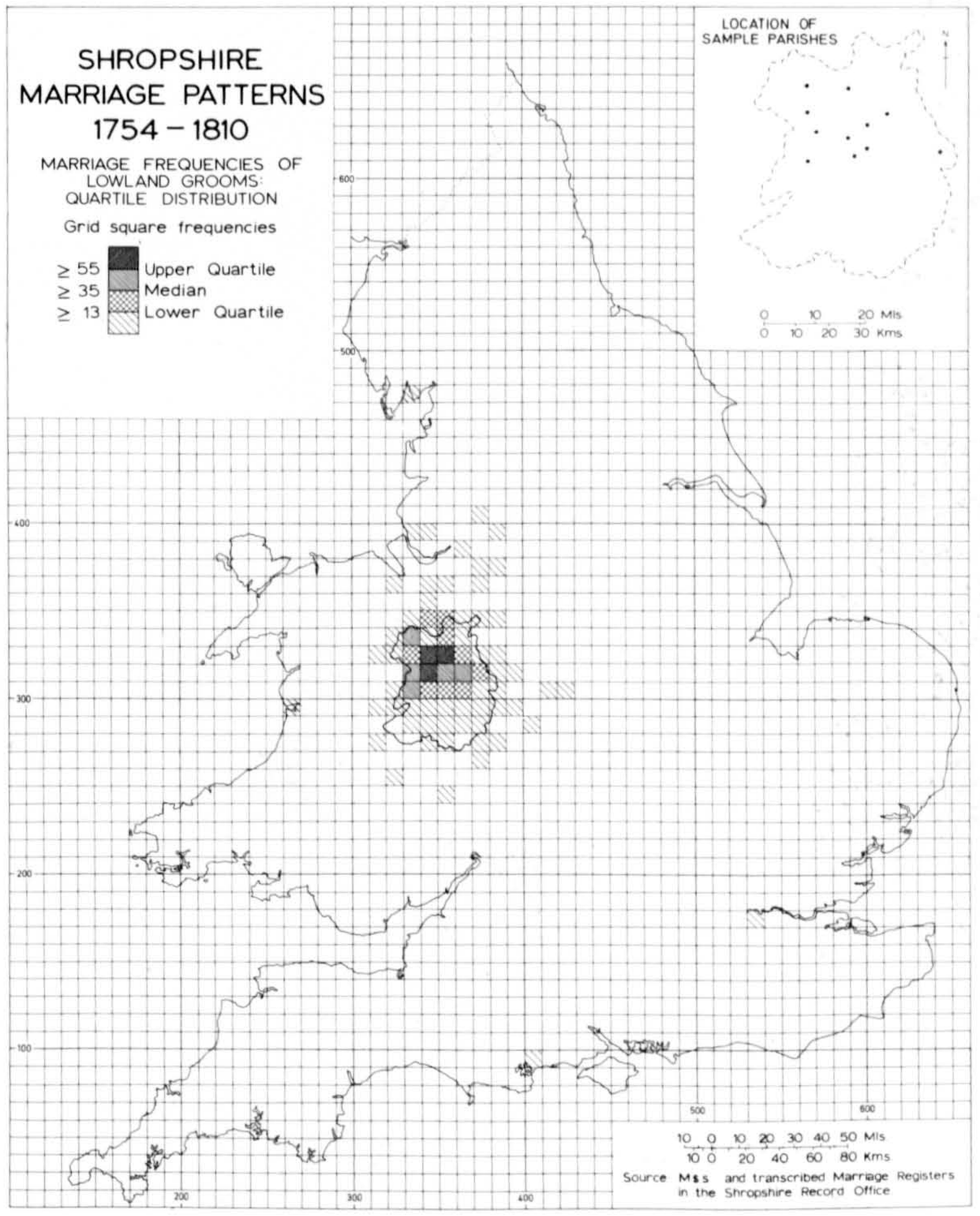


Figure 6.12 Quartile distributions of upland and lowland extraparochial brides and grooms : rural sample.

distributions (Figure 6.12) reveal that the majority are drawn from close at hand. In contrast, few grooms from north Shropshire are recorded in the southern upland parishes, and the river Severn appears to operate as a significant spatial divide in this sample. The inter-county linkages are primarily to the north and to the west midlands from the parishes of the northern plain. In the southern upland parishes linkages are with the west midland counties and Herefordshire to the south. A limited amount of contact across the Welsh border is evident in both data sets. On a smaller scale the same patterns are evident in the bridal record. The regional context therefore appears critical in the orientation of these marriage fields.

Table 6.3 presents the salient descriptive statistics of the marriage profiles for each zone and these are presented as distance-decay profiles in Figure 6.13 for grooms. The lowland sample shows a regular and gradual increase in the mean marriage distance throughout the period from 9-21 km. The record for upland areas shows rather more fluctuation, rising until 1780, then falling only to rise again in the final decade. Marriage distances are, however, consistently higher than in lowland parishes, though the modal and median values are lower. This contrast reflects some of the differences between the hundreds and boroughs and while the overall impression gained is of a gradual increase in the marriage field in both areas, as before it is not an excessive increase in dimension.

When the cumulated profiles are considered for each relief zone this gradual change is reinforced. No differences can be identified in the upland profiles and only on one occasion, in comparing the profile for 1761-70 with that for 1801-10 (Ks Od = 0.1876 S 0.05 = 0.1706) can a difference be established in the lowland record. No statistical difference exists in the profiles for individual periods when the two regional areas are compared. A remarkable consistency therefore exists in the records of

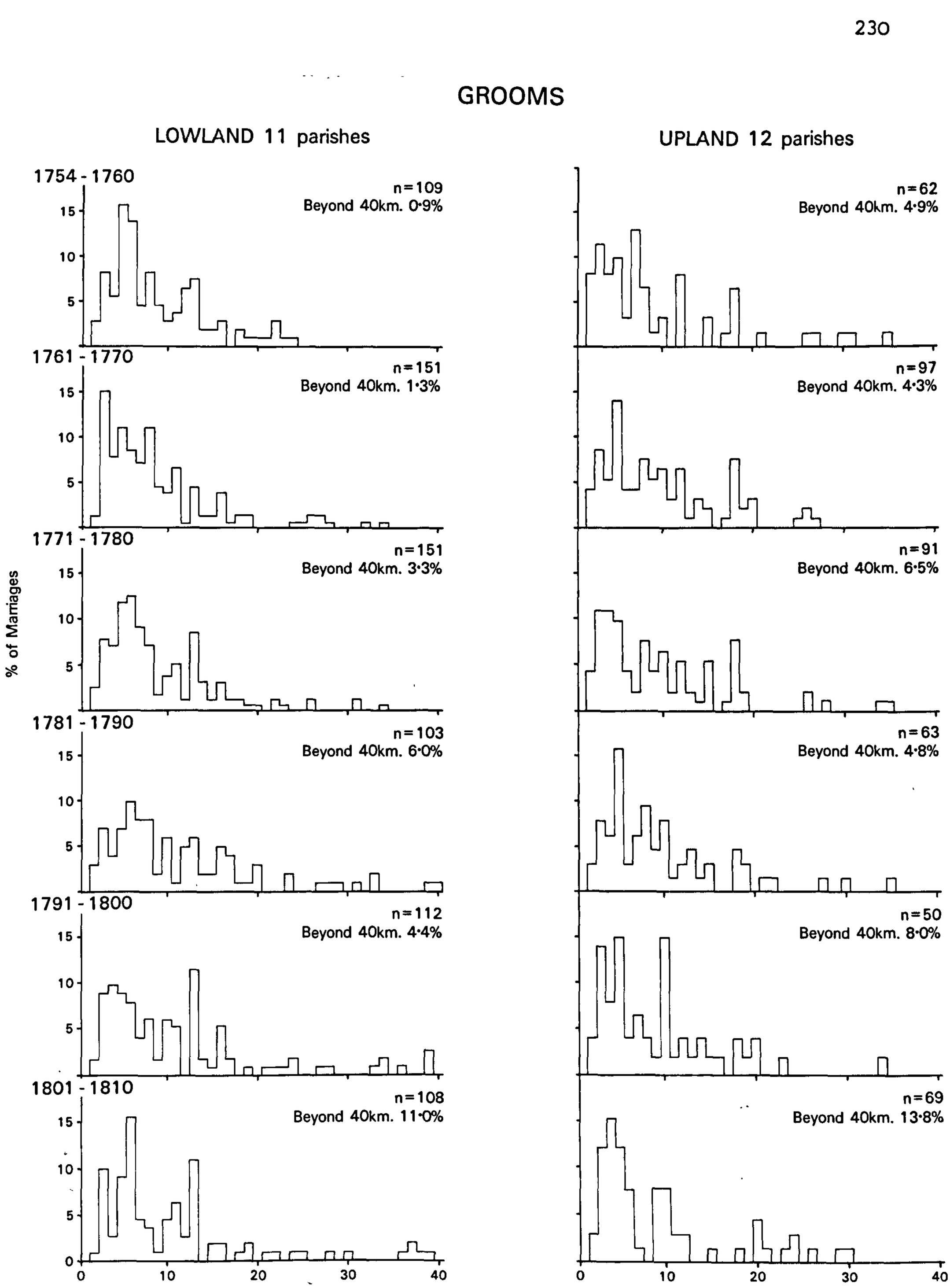


Figure 6.13 Distance-decay profiles of marriage contact through time for extraparochial grooms in lowland and upland rural parishes.

both areas through time, which matches that found in the larger sample of hundreds and boroughs.

It is difficult with these disaggregations to assess whether the stability arises from the process of aggregating individual parish records. Comparable interpretative difficulties arise when the data are disaggregated on the basis of rank within the settlement hierarchy and at this level further complications arise because of the relatively small sample size for individual decades. Nonetheless, marriage distances are worth exploring at this scale simply to establish whether any contrasts do underlie the previous analyses.

Table 6.4 presents the descriptive statistics of the marriage distance profiles for each demographic grouping in both samples. The frequency of multi-modal peaks reflects the lower sample size in many groupings, but, with a few exceptions, they indicate the localised character of marriage fields at most levels in the demographic hierarchy throughout the period. In most groupings too, the median values indicate that marital linkage for half the extraparochial grooms was within 8 km., and this shows little systematic increase from 1754-1810. Only in the rural sample, in Group V, is there any evidence of a progressive increase in median values. All other groupings show stable values, with slight expansion and contraction, but no obvious progression.

The mean distances do however indicate certain tendencies towards increasing marriage horizons over the period. Marriage distances in the urban parishes are greater than in all other places, and, while stable for the majority of period, increase quite dramatically between the first and final category. In the other groupings, in both samples, the same is also true, and while few cases of continuous increases are recorded, the records do suggest a widely experienced, if slight, increase in marriage horizons. The marriage distances in Groups I-V show some variation down the settlement hierarchy, with marginally smaller fields

Table 6.4 The stability of marriage distances 1754-1810 by parish grouping for grooms

Distances in kilometres. H&B = regional sample
RS = rural Shropshire sample

	Urban ps (H&B)	I		II		III		IV		V	
		H&B	RS	H&B	RS	H&B	RS	H&B	RS	H&B	RS
Modal values											
1754-1760	2	5	5	5	6	5	5,12	2	3	4	6
1761-1770	4	5	10	4	3	5	5	5	3	2	4
1771-1780	2	5	5	6,11	5	4	3,5	6	3	2	4
1781-1790	2,4	6,8	8	10	5,13,16	4,6	3,6,12	4	2,3	2	5
1791-1800	4	5	13	4	5,8	6	4	4	3,7	4	4
1801-1810	4	5	13	4,5	11	4	4,5,12	5	3	2	3,6
Median values											
1754-1760	6	7	7	7	7	7	8	4	7	4	5
1761-1770	5	8	7	8	7	7	5	7	7	6	6
1771-1780	6	8	7	9	7	8	8	7	8	5	7
1781-1790	5	8	12	7	12	8	8	6	8	6	8
1791-1800	8	9	8	7	8	8	6	6	7	6	8
1801-1810	6	6	8	9	8	8	9	6	5	3	10
Mean distances											
1754-1760	26.1	13.3	9.4	12.4	10.0	13.4	10.9	6.7	11.2	9.1	9.8
1761-1770	28.0	12.8	11.0	12.1	8.8	12.3	10.1	13.2	19.0	9.6	8.4
1771-1780	28.5	15.0	14.6	22.0	13.2	13.3	11.1	10.2	23.7	11.9	7.6
1781-1790	28.8	21.0	19.6	19.5	13.9	23.1	16.8	11.7	15.7	10.4	10.9
1791-1800	28.0	17.8	24.0	11.9	14.8	10.8	9.5	8.4	14.2	12.9	11.8
1801-1810	40.4	21.5	27.8	21.0	15.9	17.9	39.6	13.7	18.4	11.0	13.4

Table 6.5 Regional variations in mean distance for each parish grouping in the rural Shropshire sample

	I		II		III		IV		V	
	U	L	U	L	U	L	U	L	U	L
1754-1760	7.9	10.0	-	10.0	12.8	8.7	15.4	8.0	12.1	6.8
1761-1770	12.6	10.4	9.5	8.6	11.6	8.7	25.9	12.8	8.6	7.1
1771-1780	28.2	11.6	21.3	11.4	12.7	9.8	24.7	22.2	8.3	6.9
1781-1790	11.3	22.2	19.8	11.2	29.6	10.5	22.1	6.7	9.9	12.2
1791-1800	12.2	26.4	26.4	11.0	11.8	8.3	11.6	16.4	12.4	11.4
1801-1800	24.3	47.2	25.4	10.0	47.7	21.8	8.0	30.1	9.6	17.6

Source: Transcribed and Mss registers of 23 Shropshire parishes.

in the smallest places, but the differences are relatively slight. Some contrasts are also evident in Table 6.5, between the marriage distances in upland and lowland parishes, with longer distances characteristic in the upland sub-sample in most groupings. These variations are suggestive rather than conclusive.

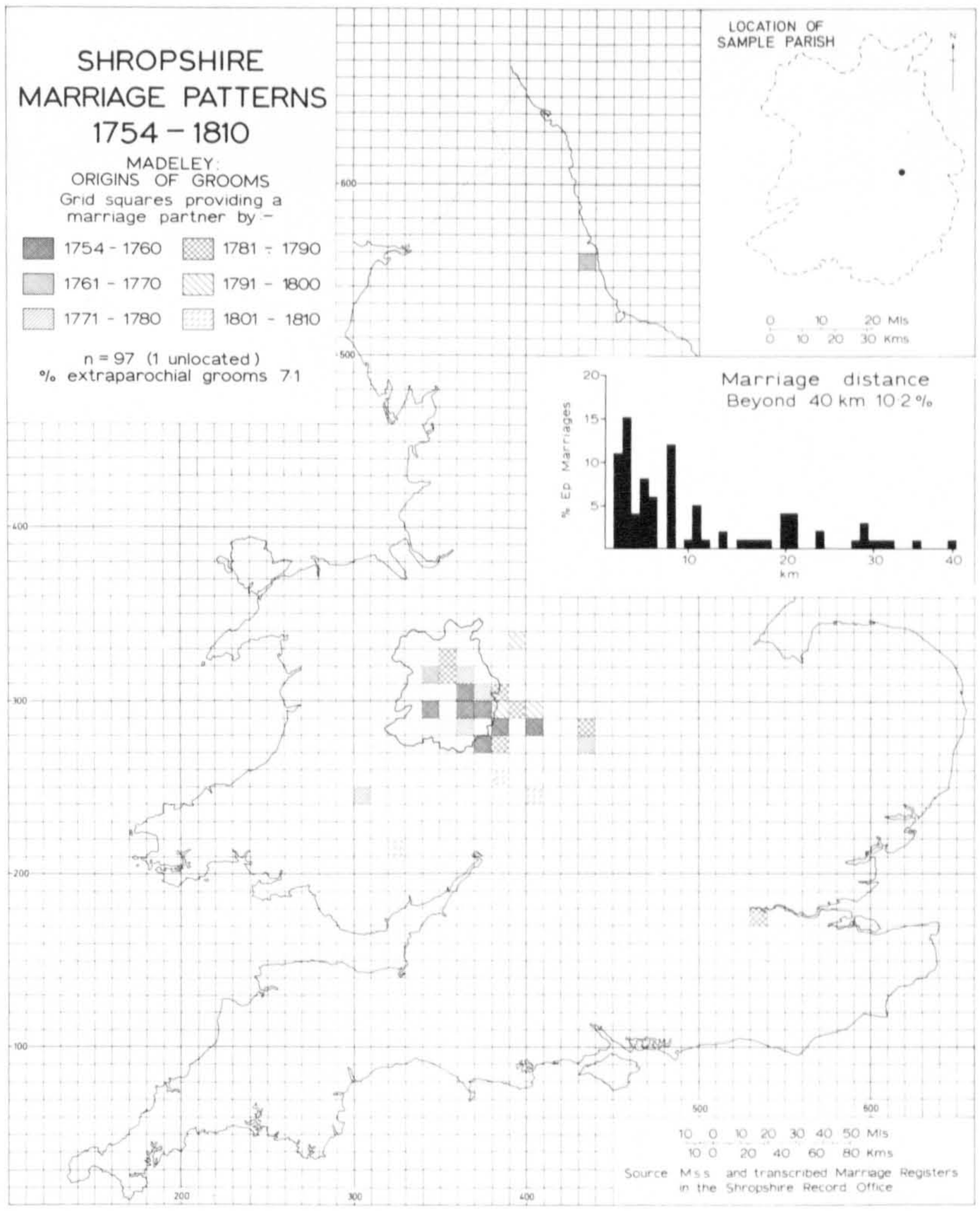
When the cumulated distance decay profiles are examined through time for each grouping, few contrasts emerge. In the regional sample, only on one occasion, in the records of Group IV parishes, can a significant difference be identified between any decades and this is between 1754-1760 and 1771-80 (Ks Od = 0.2820 S 0.05 0.2566). In Group I on two occasions, between 1754-1760 and 1781-90 (Ks Od = 0.2930 S 0.05 = 0.2739) and between 1781-90 and 1801-10 (Ks 0.2980 S 0.05 = 0.2899) significant differences occur. On all other occasions, whether considered in or out of sequence, the distance-decay profiles within each group are judged not to differ. There is no evidence therefore of a statistically significant widening of horizons.

In the sample for rural Shropshire a similar pattern is evident. No significant change in distance-decay profiles through time is identified in Groups II-V; in Group I however, two contrasts emerge. The years 1754-60 differ from the final decade (Ks Od = 0.2572 S 0.05 = 0.2443) as does the decade 1761-70 (Ks Od = 0.3050 S 0.05 = 0.2887): this indicates that the progressive change which had occurred over these years did, by the end of the period, produce a marriage field of different form. At this scale of disaggregation therefore, there is little evidence to support an argument for major change in marriage fields during the period, or to justify a thesis that any change which did occur might show a grading up or down the settlement hierarchy.

While there is little <u>statistical</u> evidence of a dramatic change in marriage horizons through time, the orientation and dimensions of the marriage territory do show some sequential expansion at all levels in

the settlement hierarchy. Figure 6.7 has already illustrated this for Ludlow, an urban centre and market town,where its extensive field and outside urban linkage has been noted. The other centres included within this urban category are rather different, lying as they do on the east Shropshire coalfield, and it is worth briefly considering their marriage territories. Figure 6.14 illustrates the marriage patterns of Madeley and Broseley over this period. In both places substantial numbers of grooms are drawn from further afield, primarily from places within the west midlands. These linkages with other areas experiencing early industrialisation are those which might be expected, but alongside these a very local field is evident, which gradually expands during the period. These individual records show more spatial bias in their orientation and lack the symmetry of Ludlow's marriage horizon. They suggest that the patterns of association these linkages describe reflect, in part, underlying economic ties which influence the direction of contact.

The same spatial bias and common structural characteristics are evident when the patterns of contact are considered through time for each parish grouping. As illustrative of these trends, Figures 6.15-6.19 document the marriage patterns of each grouping for the rural Shropshire sample. The territories for Group I parishes indicate that, in these, by 1760, the county boundary enclosed an area which supplied marriage partners, gradually expanding outwards as the years passed to 1810. In other grades of centre, marriage fields up to 1760 were far more localised and it takes far longer for the total county area to be incorporated into the marriage territory of individual parishes. These patterns are influenced by the location of the sample parishes, and comparison with the inset maps reinforces this point. While all territories, for each grade of parish, show an expansion through time, as Figure 6.20 reveals, throughout the period the bulk of partners came from places very close at hand. In each grouping, the pattern for brides, while similar, is far more localised.



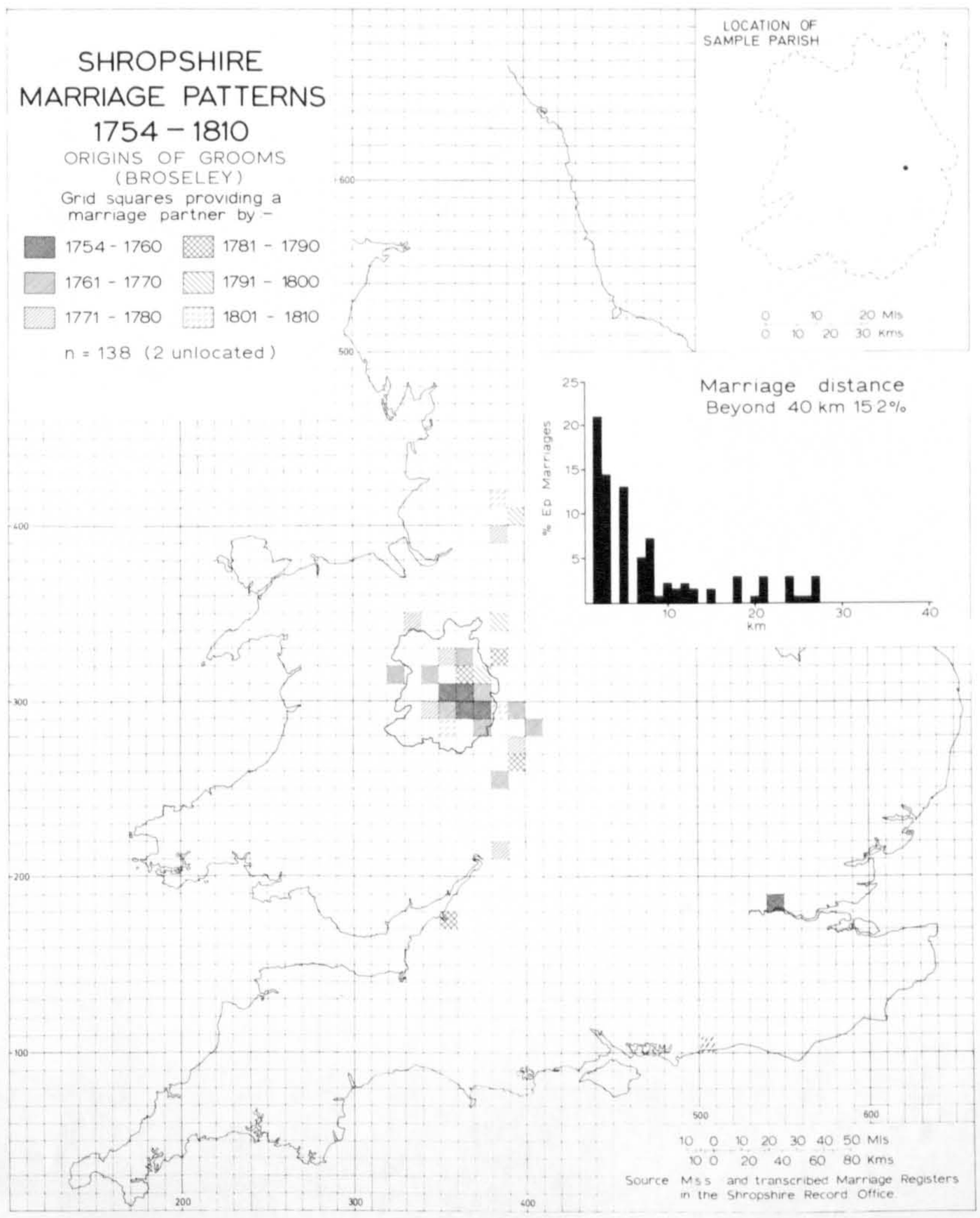
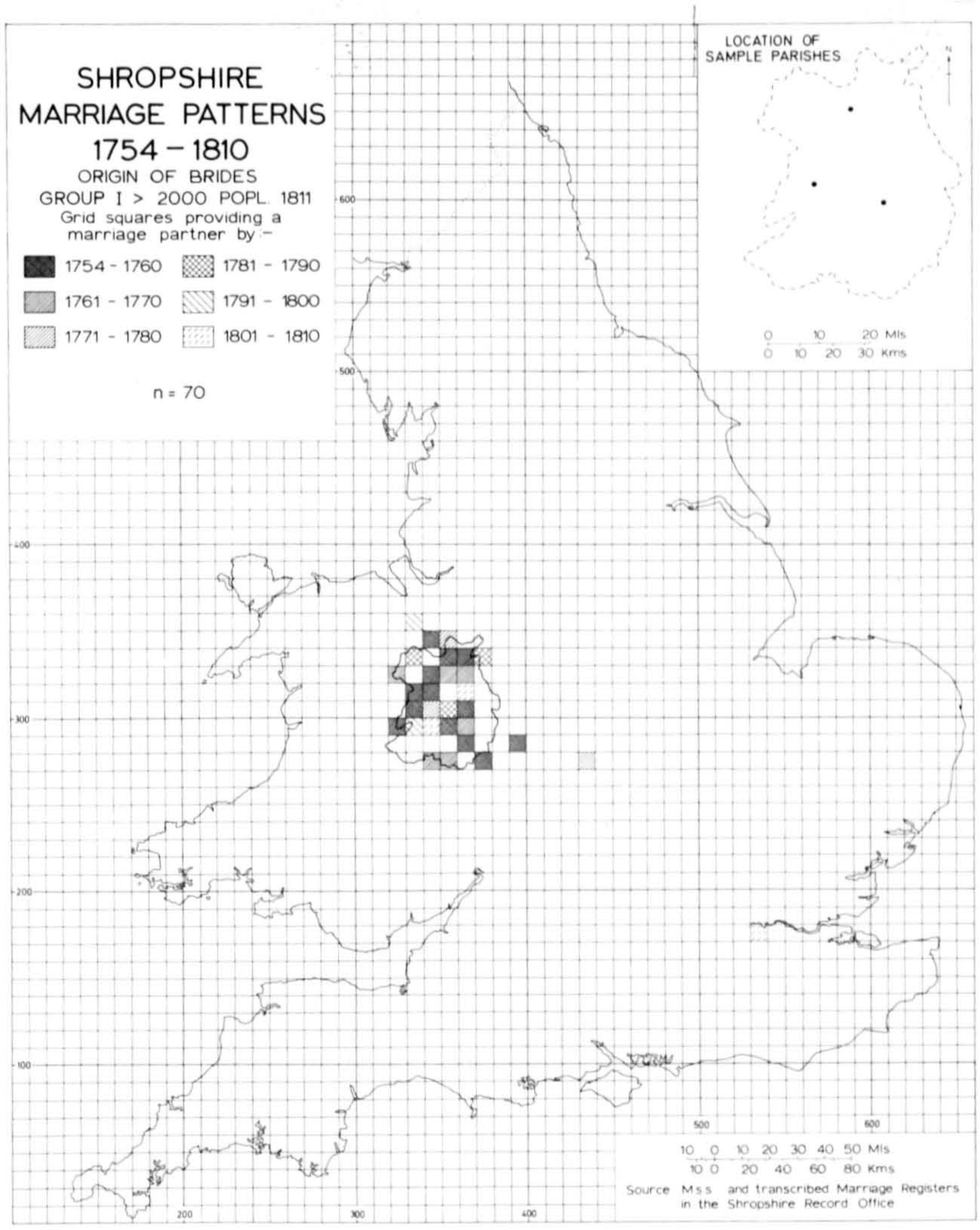


Figure 6.14 Origin of extraparochial grooms in the urban parishes of Madeley and Broseley.



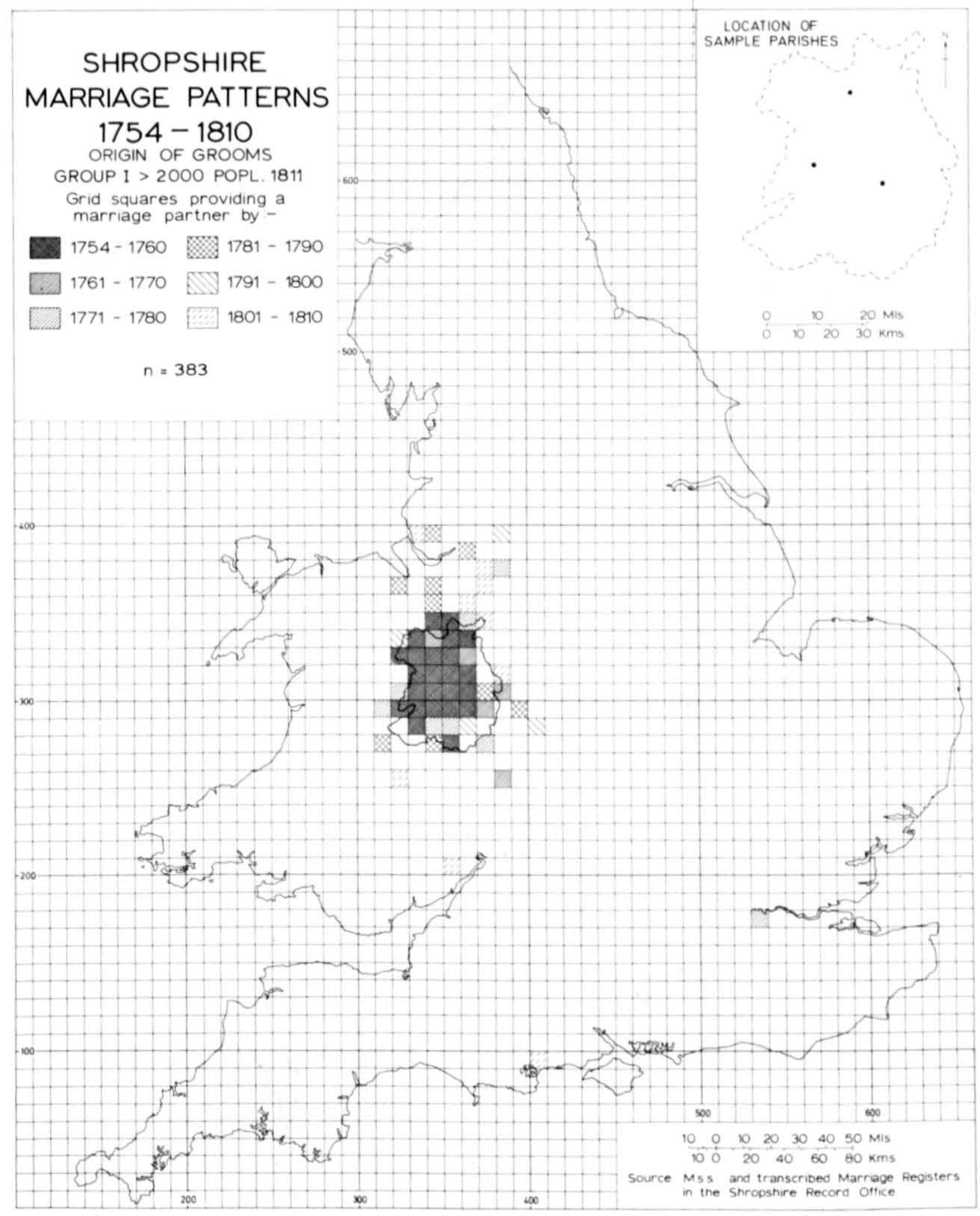
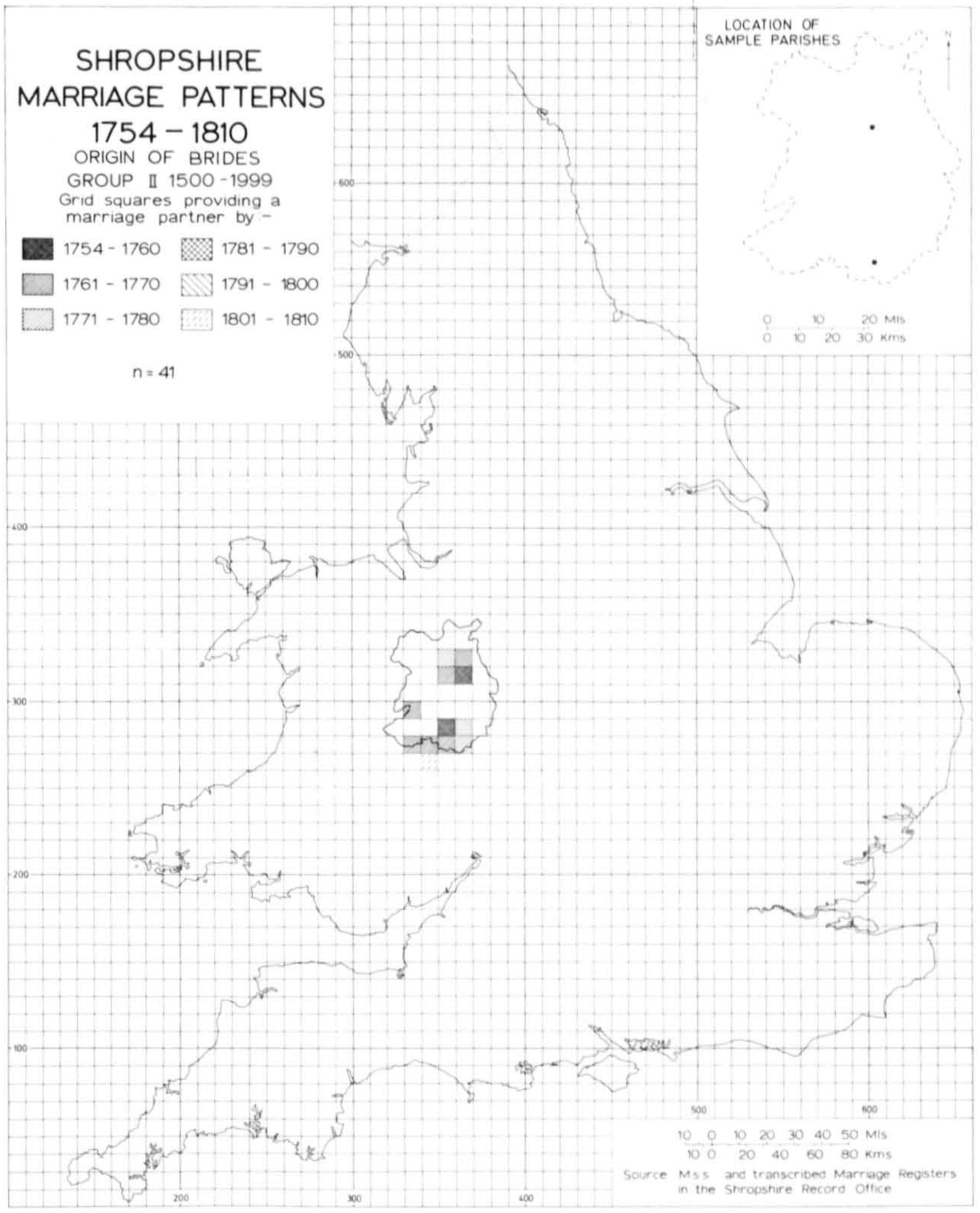


Figure 6.15 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in Group I parishes in the rural sample.



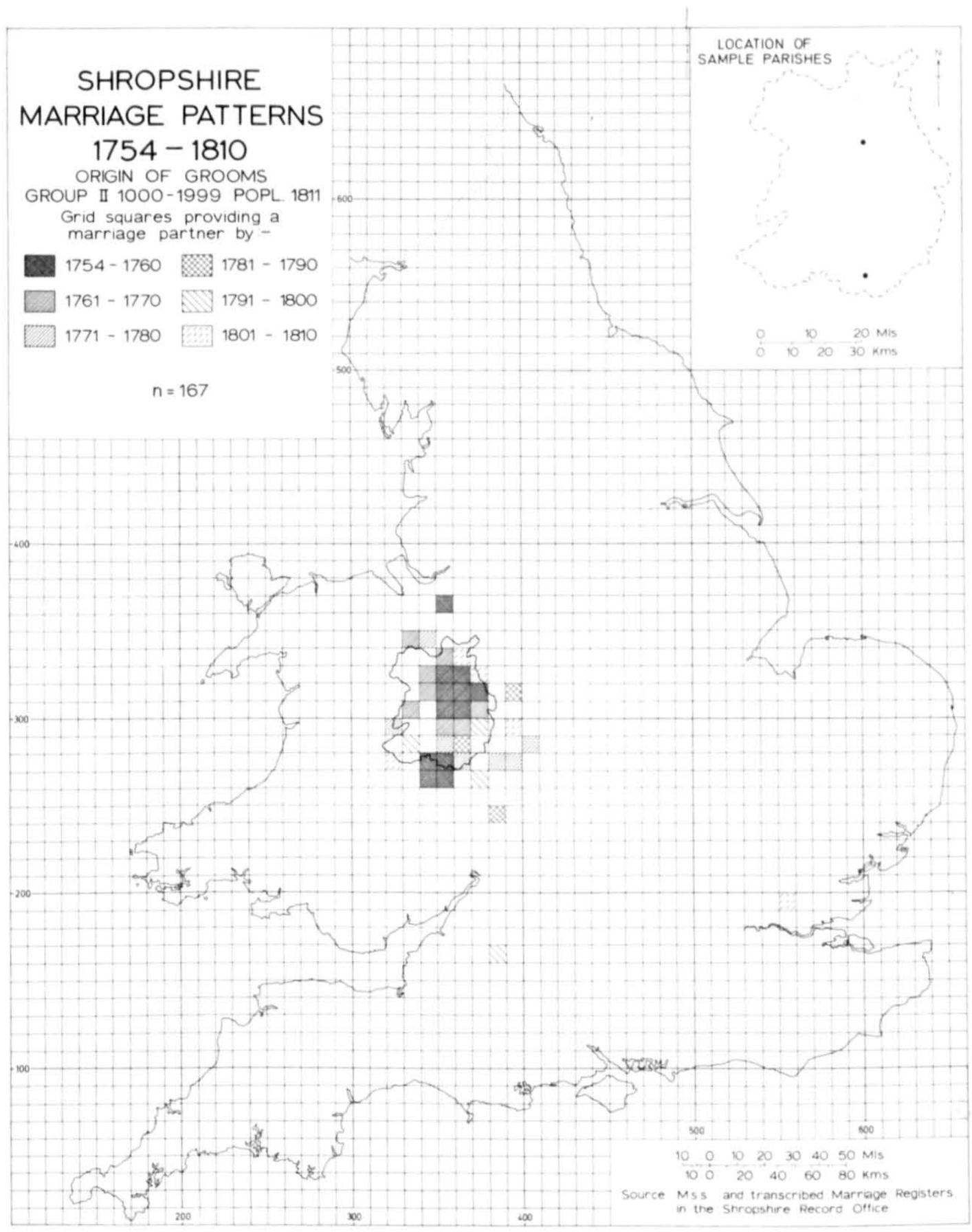


Figure 6.16 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in Group II parishes in the rural sample.

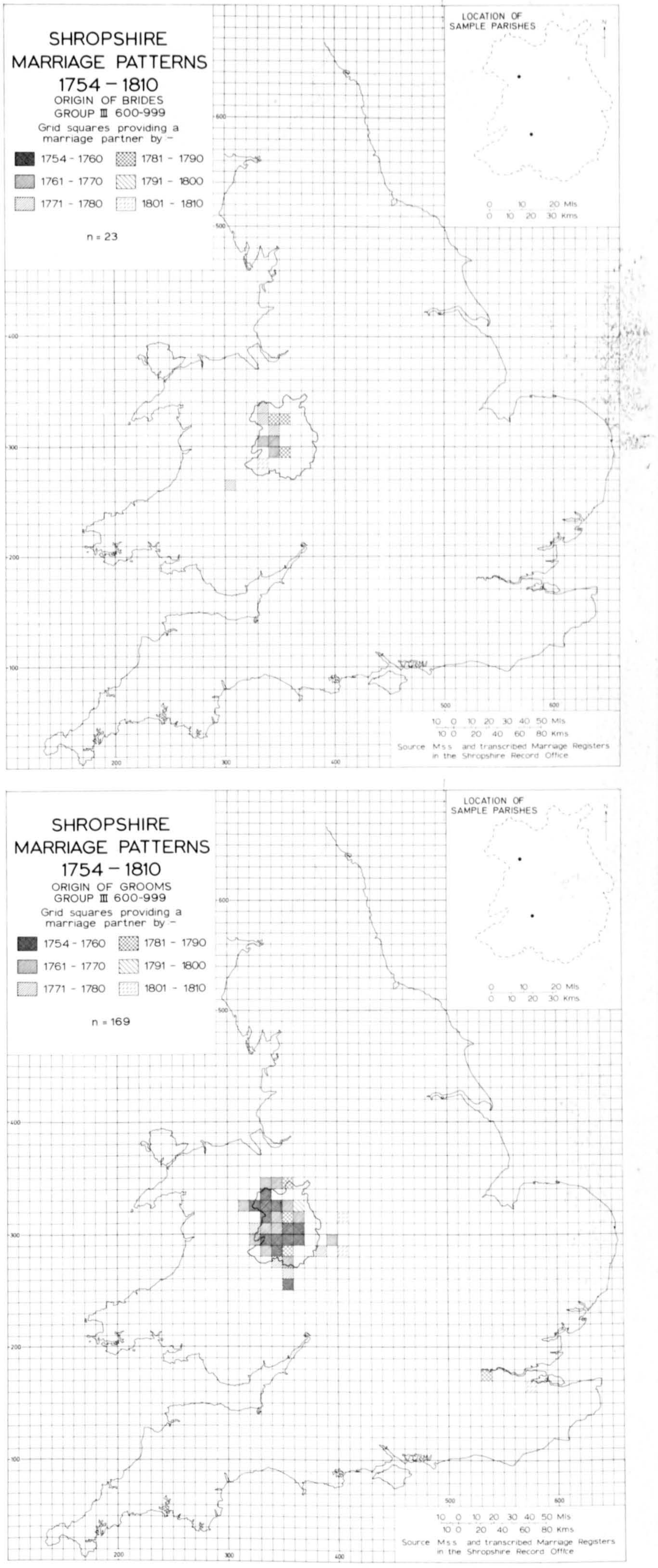


Figure 6.17 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in Group III parishes in the rural sample.

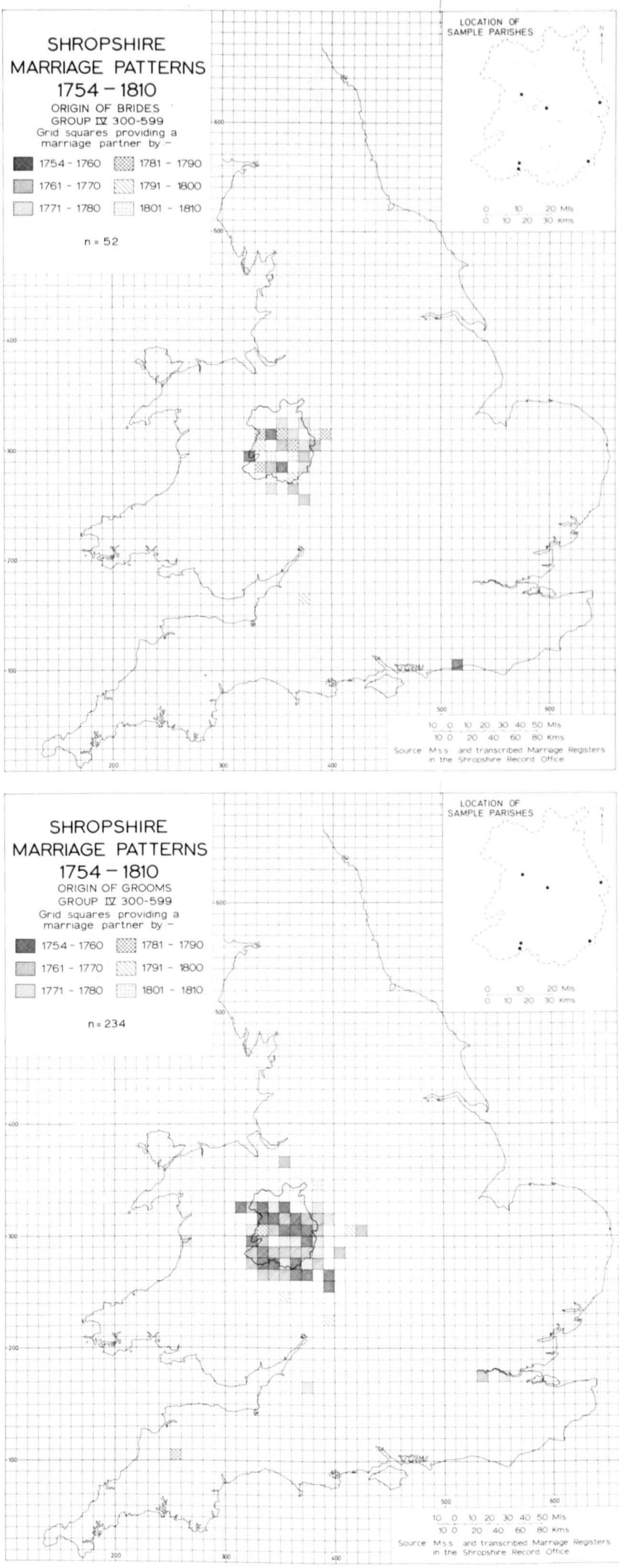


Figure 6.18 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in Group IV parishes in the rural sample.

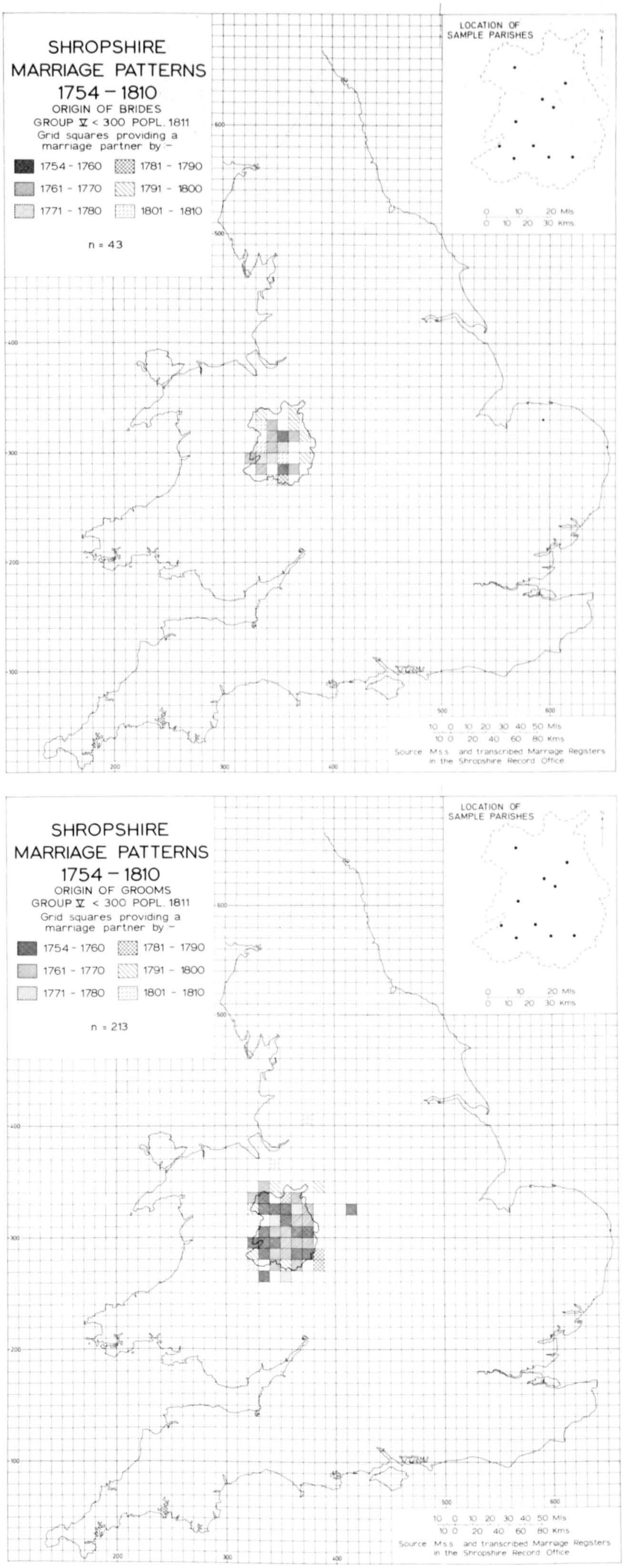
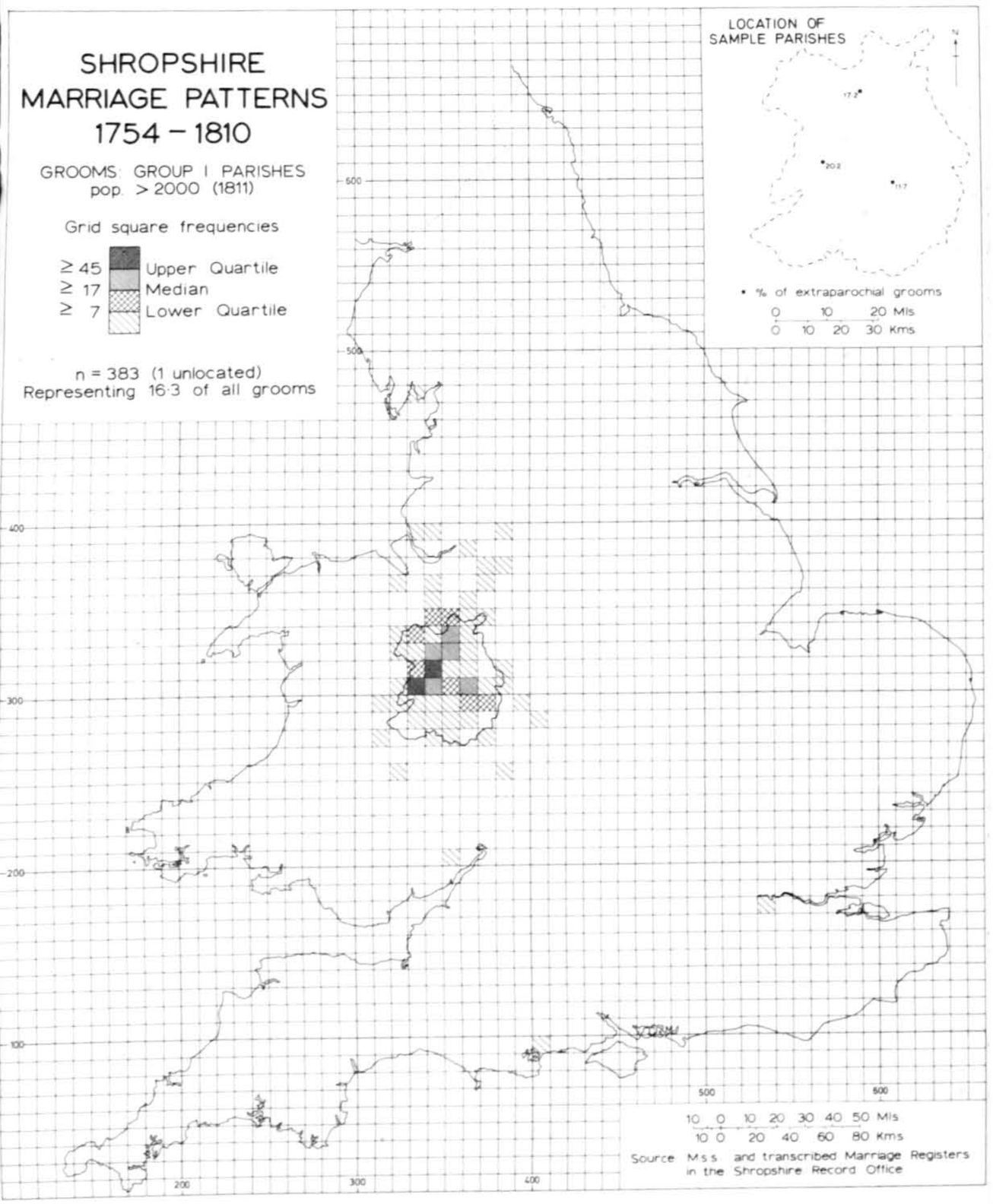
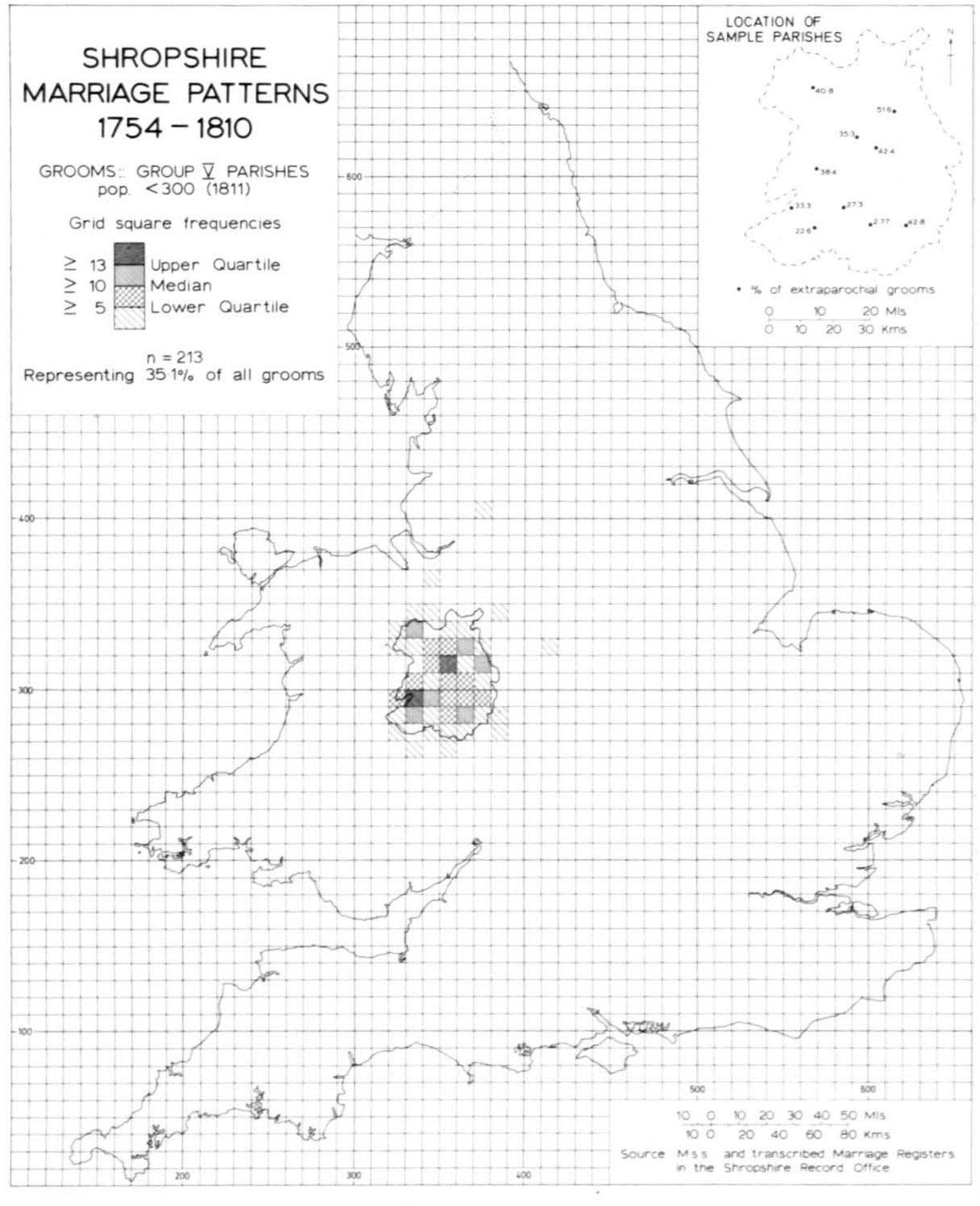


Figure 6.19 Origin of extraparochial brides and grooms in Group V parishes in the rural sample.





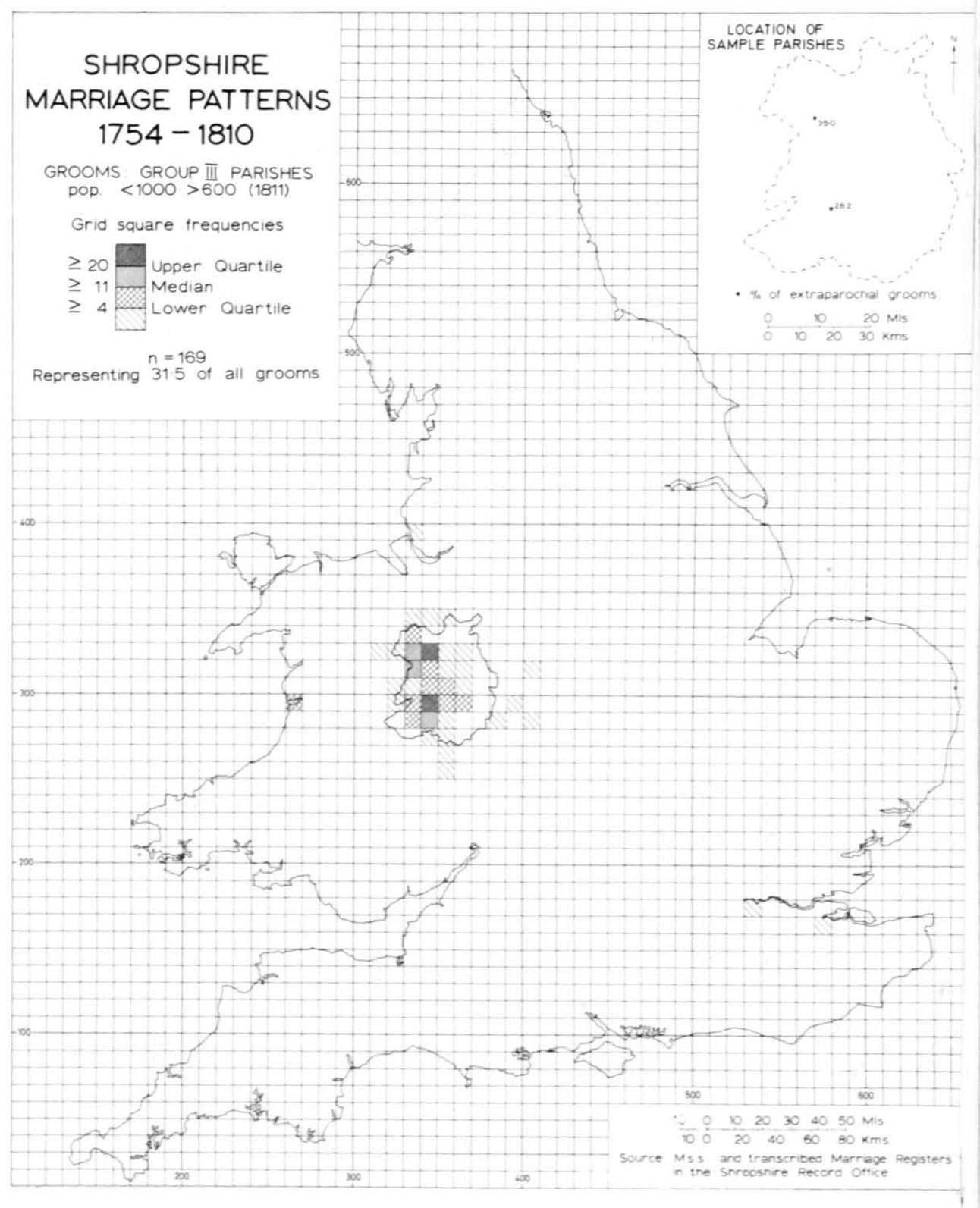


Figure 6.20 Quartile distributions of the origin of extraparochial grooms in Groups I, III and V parishes in the rural sample.

These data, while doing little to support two of the three theses advanced at the outset of the section, do indicate a remarkable stability in marriage horizons during this period. There is some evidence to suggest that a progressive increase did occur in marriage fields during these years in most settings. This change was so gradual, however, that, considered in sequence, no revolutionary change in distance-decay profiles emerges. Differences do exist between the start of the period and the end with certain sub-samples, but other contrasts are more piecemeal and suggest no obvious explanation. Marriage distances were greater in urban parishes and those in Group I throughout the period in both samples, though the differences between the latter group and other groupings, lower in the demographic hierarchy, is not marked except after 1780. The data are not really adequate to explore fully any phased increase in marriage distances within the settlement system through time. All places appear to show some increase in the distance over which marriages were solemised and the time intervals used are inappropriate to specify any phased change. These intervals are used, however, to produce adequate sample numbers, butcan be modified as is shown subsequently. The data suggest that there is no statistical justification for arguing for a significant increase in marriage distances in either the regional or the rural sample during these years. Ignoring significance levels, there is an empirical order suggestive of a gradual widening of marriage horizons in these years.in most settings.

These conclusions deal in the main with hypotheses one and three and allow little comment on the second proposition that marriage distances relate to demand and supply of partners. The irregularity in the increase in marriage distances, noted in certain tabulations, indicates that the selection of partners at certain distances did not show a progressive increase in all settings. This suggests that the size of the marriage territory, rather than reflecting an increasingly benign economy

facilitating easier movement, may be a reflexive or responsive measure of need. This last point needs further examination.

III : Total marriages, exogamy and marriage distances

Chapter Three documented the interrelationships of the total trend in all marriages and the exogamous record. This suggested that the relative importance of exogamy varied in different grades of parish and while in some senses it acted as a constant factor, in other cases it varied according to levels of natural increase within the community and the broader state of the regional economy. It is useful to integrate the dimensions of the marriage field into this context, as a continuous series, to provide a spatial dimension to the chronology.

The sequence of change in total marriages was one of a gradual rise through the period at an aggregate level in the regional sample, which disguised some sub-regional contrasts. Thus the records for Wenlock and Munslow, the urban and group IV parishes, all showed increasing marriage trends, while the other sub-samples exhibited either stability or decline. In the rural parish sample, decline was characteristic of all groupings in their total marriage record. The general trends of decline, stability and growth disguised a pattern of rising numbers until the 1780s followed by a marked drop in annual frequency during the 1790s, which continued in some areas to the end of the period, but saw a major upswing in other areas to its previously higher level. This sequence, it was argued, was mirrored to some extent in the proportions of extraparochial marriages which were contracted in the various sub-samples. Exogamy was seen as a responsive element, reflecting on the one hand levels of natural increase and the buoyancy of the local economy and on the other as a constant input which showed some variation. Against this background marriage distances can be considered.

Figures 6.21-6.24 integrate the proportion of marriages involving extraparochial partners with the distance from which partners were selected. Given the caveats made earlier on sample size on a decadal basis, these curves, constructed for individual years and then smoothed by eleven year averages, must be considered as suggestive rather than absolute at some levels of disaggregation. Those for the total samples, the regional areas and the larger group subsamples are based on adequate numbers, some others are not and are included solely for completeness. In all cases, the curves deal with all extraparochial marriages for brides as well as grooms.

It is apparent that in both the regional and rural samples, marriage distances show a slow but progressive increase throughout the period, which for the two samples show little correspondence with the proportions of exogamous marriages. Distance appears to be relatively independent of the level of exogamy. The hundreds and boroughs show a more varied pattern, they fall into three groupings. Wenlock and Munslow form the first, where marriage distances are stable or slightly increasing throughout the period, associated with falling levels of exogamy. In the second grouping, Condover and Ford show rising marriage distances, until 1780 and 1790 respectively, set against falling levels of exogamy, afterwhich the trends are reversed. In Ludlow the curves appear to show some similarities with distances rising and falling alongside the levels of exogamy. A comparable association is evident in the sub-sample of upland parishes in the rural sample, but the lowland sub-sample shows more similarity with the total rural parish pattern, i.e. rising marriage distances independent of the level of exogamy (Figure 6.22).

When both samples are disaggregated by parish population size grouping, it is clear that many grades of parish experienced rising marriage distances (Figures 6.23 and 6.24). These rose fastest and most continuously in the urban and group I parishes, but stable distances with a slight rise at the end of period also occur in smaller parishes. Groups I, II and III in the

..... level of exogamy (%) 11 year averages.
_____ mean distance in Kms. 11 year averages.

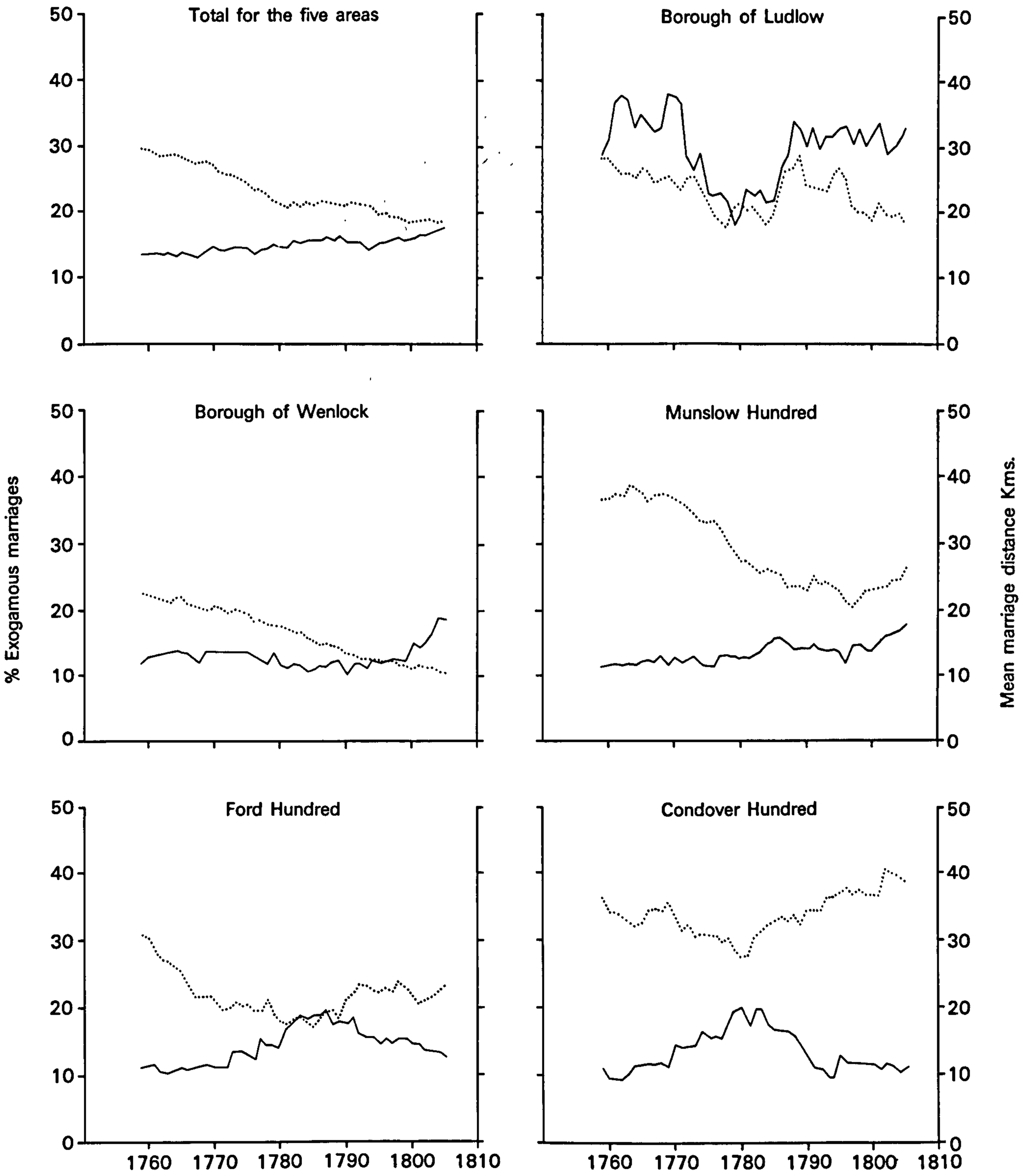


Figure 6.21 Levels of exogamy and mean marriage distance for all spouses in the five hundreds and boroughs 1754-1810.

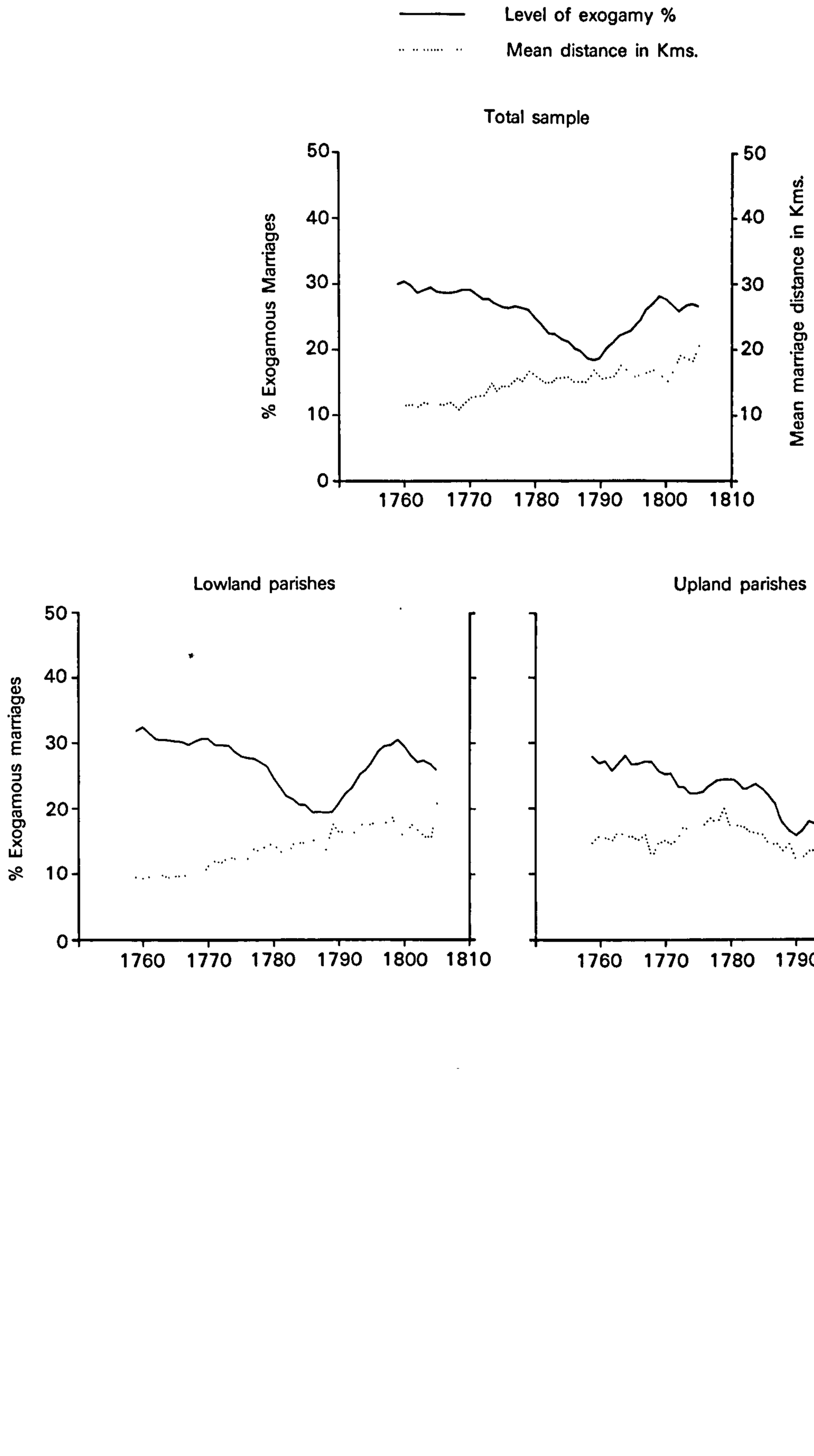


Figure 6.22 Levels of exogamy and mean marriage distances for all spouses in the rural sample and in the upland and lowland parish sub-samples.

..... level of exogamy (%) 11 year averages.
_____ mean distance in Kms. 11 year averages.

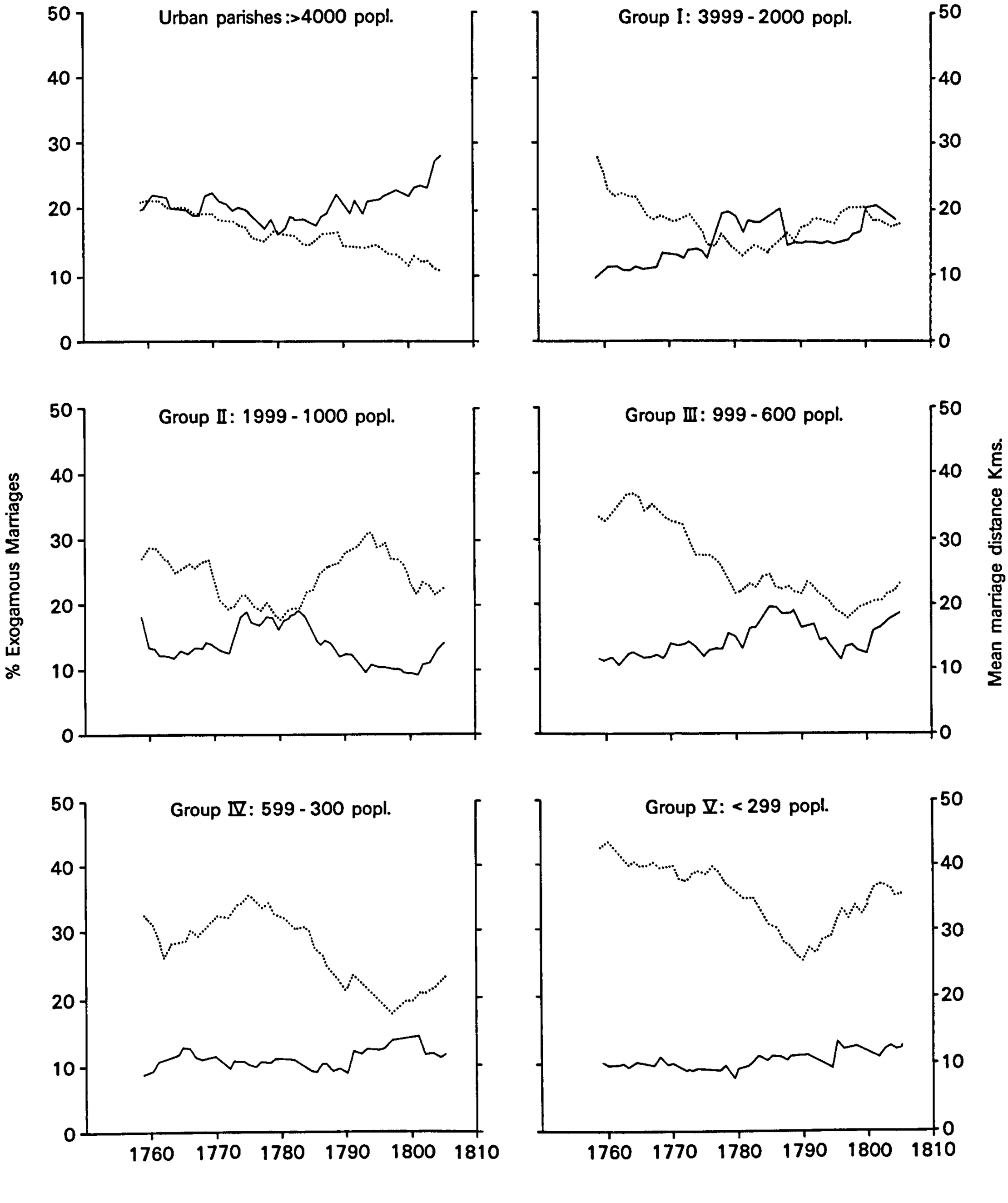


Figure 6.23 Levels of exogamy and mean marriage distances for all spouses in the constituent parish groupings in the five hundreds and boroughs.

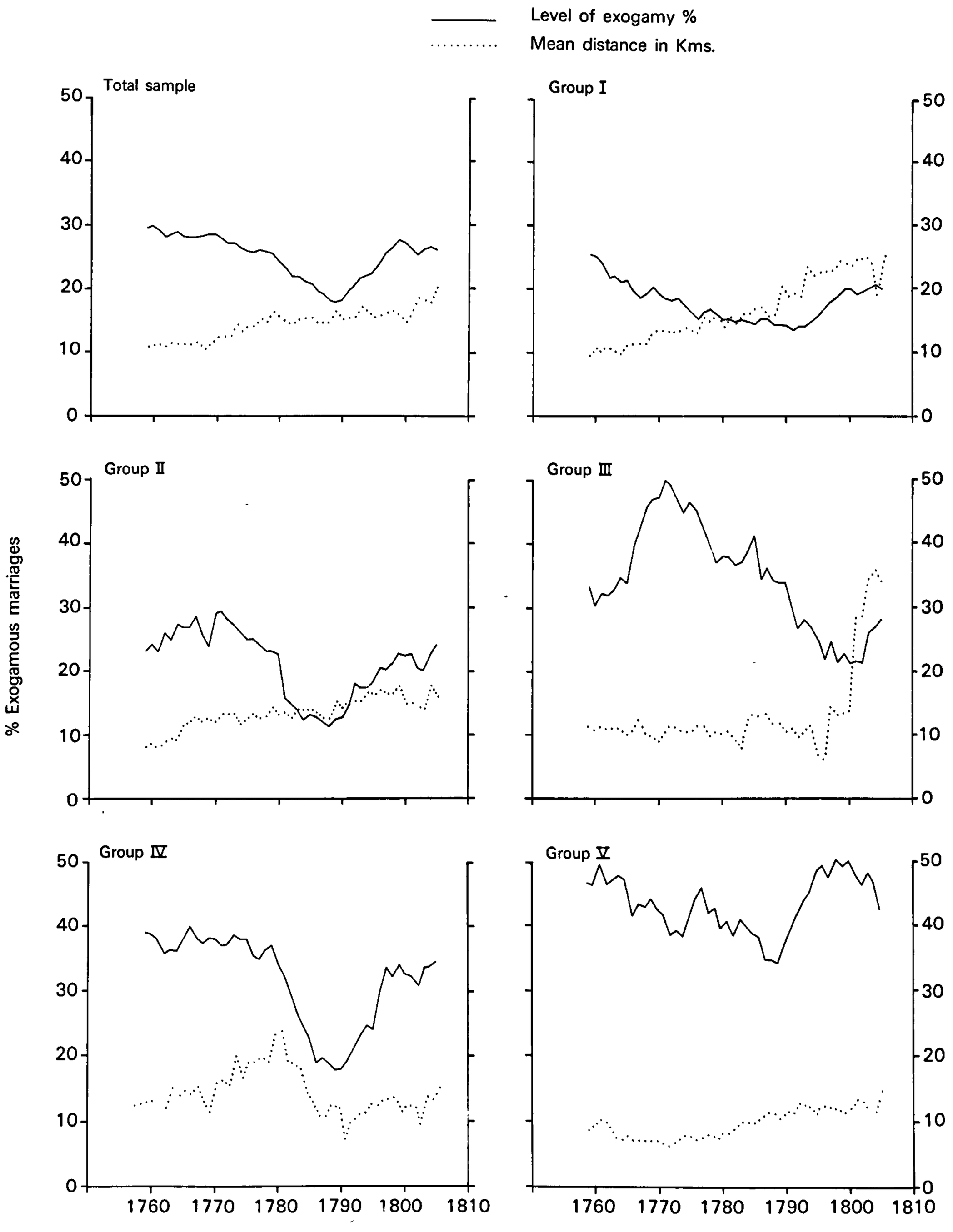


Figure 6.24 Levels of exogamy and mean marriage distances for all spouses in the constituent parish groupings of the rural sample.

regional sample exhibit increasing distances between 1775-85 when levels of exogamy were particularly low. Group IV in the rural sample shows a marriage distance curve which appears to reflect quite closely the trends in levels of exogamy. The interpretation of these relationships is not easy.

Three generalised relationships recur in these diagrams. Firstly, situations where the levels of exogamy and the marriage distances change in concert, with rising levels of extraparochial marriage being accompanied by longer distances and falling levels by shorter ones. These occur in the records for Ludlow, in Munslow after 1790, in Group III parishes in the regional sample after 1780 and in Group IV parishes and the record of all upland parishes in the rural sample. They occur in periods when annual marriage totals are stable or falling slightly and indicate that structural and spatial demand are interelated. Thus for there to be more exogamous marriages within a parish, grooms or brides are drawn from further afield.

The second situation is more common, it is characteristic of most graphs prior to 1780 and is one where rising annual marriage levels occur, with falling levels of exogamy and increasing or stable marriage distances. This suggests that levels of natural increase contribute to the rising curve of total marriages rather than exogamous linkages and that these, when they do occur, are over increasingly longer distances. Thus most demand is satisfied locally, and it is an unusual minority who travel further. These situations may reflect some social selectivity in the choice of outside partners, with such periods characterised by extra-parochial marriage of the higher social groups.

The third situation recurs less frequently, usually after 1780, when total annual marriages were stable or falling. In this, levels of exogamy rise and marriage distances remain stable or show slight decline. It is well illustrated by the records for Ford and Condover, but also is

apparent in other sub-samples. It is one where a larger proportion of all marriages involve an extraparochial partner, implying some increase in overall mobility, but this does not necessitate an increase in the dimensions of the marriage horizon. People 'mill about' more to use Holderness's phrase, (1970 p.451), but over no greater distances.

These three situations suggest that a direct relationship between exogamy and distance as implied in the second proposition (p209)was not universally the case. In aggregate terms, the proportion marrying outside their parish falls throughout the period, but those who do choose to wed extraparochial partners travel progressively further. This pattern recurs in certain of the sub-samples too. Such generalisations for the total period, or indeed for the total sample, do not hold when either time or areal units are disaggregated. The three alternatives specified indicate limited support for the second proposition, but also suggest that the relationship is far more complex. Any absolute answer to this question may be explored more appropriately in reconstituting small groups of parishes where the reflexive pattern can be more precisely examined.

IV. Conclusion

This chapter has explored and described the pattern of origins of marriage partners in two samples of Shropshire parishes. It leads to a number of interesting conclusions about the dimensions of the marriage field and, by implication, about the realm of social interaction which characterised the period from 1754-1810 in the Shropshire countryside.

When the records for the total period are considered it appears that, in statistical terms, the marriage fields of most parishes were remarkably uniform. Some contrasts do emerge between areas and parishes of different demographic rank, which suggest that certain places showed patterns of linkage over longer distances than were characteristic elsewhere. Although the overall pattern does show some variation through the period, such that between the beginning and the end significant differences

can be identified, this is not so at most scales. A progressive increase in the dimensions of the marriage field is evident, but the rate of change was gradual rather than dramatic. Thus marriage distances show little major contrast from one time period to the next and the change which did occur was a progressive rather than a revolutionary expansion of opportunities.

The rate at which such changes occur and the aggregate regularities that are evident, suggest that, even though the overall impression is one of statistical uniformity, certain descriptive patterns emerge. These imply an underlying order. Marriage fields decrease in size down the settlement hierarchy, which implies a structural control on the opportunity space of inhabitants. Though all grades of parish change slowly during the period, the rate of increase also appears to follow this hierarchical pattern, with the expansion of horizons occurring fastest in the largest places. The small scale character of marriage horizons has been recognised in other studies, but none of those point to population rank as a controlling feature of the dimensions of the field and this is worth emphasising.

The interelationship between levels of exogamy and marriage distances through time also raises questions of interest and these deserve more attention. Quite clearly any such enquiry must involve a complete demographic reconstruction of the community, which could then be viewed in the context of the local and regional economy, rather than the partial, graphical set of associations presented here.

This analysis has essentially described the territories and distance decay relationships which may be defined from Anglican marriage register data and has in no way explained them. Indeed, it has simply dealt with marriage in temporal and spatial terms, providing a skeleton which needs clothing. This clinical description needs humanising and the marriage registers do provide some limited additional evidence which provides a more personalised and social insight into the marital decision. This additional evidence adds to the

above description and provides some explanatory insights beyond those of the role of population rank as a controlling agent constraining the spatial dimensions of marriage fields. Up to this point, most of the argument has been couched in terms of the control of the demographic system and little reference has been made to other aspects of marriage choice and the way these influence patterns. It is towards such issues that the discussion must now move.

Chapter 7 Marriage in a social context : an examination of the circumstantial variables recorded in the marriage register

Explanation of how individuals come to choose marriage partners is in many ways a specious exercise. The course of true love, the romantic myths which have come to surround the marital decision, all contribute to doubt when aggregate regularities are discussed. Certain temporal and spatial regularities do, however, recur in the marriage record and these cannot be ignored. It is also possible to indicate something of the social and procedural context surrounding marriage from the additional information which is available in the Anglican registers. This information provides a set of circumstantial variables which can be used to clothe the structural scenario which has been drawn, adding a social perspective previously lacking. Far more precise details are also available on the timing of matrimony and this can be used to indicate the strength of customary practice and, by so doing, reveal seasonal variations in the character of local practices.

Examination of this material suggests certain recurrent relationships, a natural order in the data, the knowledge of which adds considerably to the crude spatial regularities discussed earlier. Unfortunately, these additional data are extremely fragmentary on the very variables which are of greatest interest to the geographer and comprehensive on those which have lesser value. This restricts considerably the insights which can be gained.

Most registers give precise information on the date and month of marriage, on whether the marriage was authorised by the publication of banns or the issue of a licence and on whether the registers were signed by the parties to the event. These variables, while providing interesting detail, have little explanatory power. It has been argued that signatures indicate something of the level of education and, by implication, status

of the parties to matrimony, but their interpretation has been the subject of some debate and little attention is given to such evidence in these Shropshire records (Schofield, 1968 1973, Stone 1969, Neuburg 1969, 1970). As these details were required after Hardwicke's Act (1754) their comprehensiveness is to be expected. Unfortunately, details on status (bachelor, spinster, widower and widow), age at marriage and occupation, which are of greater value, are more infrequent. Consequently, the analysis presented here takes on a form rather different from that of the previous chapters.

As the records of the five hundreds and boroughs and those of the sample parishes in rural Shropshire provided consistent information on the more common variables and less on those of greater interest the material presented in this chapter is only drawn from the most complete registers. It is recognised that this may produce a bias in the picture presented and, where possible, additional evidence is referred to. Frequently, the incomplete character of the coverage produces small samples which are illustrative rather than absolute statements of the social features associated with the marital decision. As with all historical issues, the available data constrain the level of interpretation which is possible.

This chapter develops four themes. Firstly, the scanty data on age of marriage and status of the parties to marriage is considered, but this produces few insights into the association between either age or status and mobility. Secondly, the choice of authorisation procedure is examined and its association with various social variables considered. Thirdly, occupational data are used to illustrate the social variations in the dimensions of marriage horizons. Finally, the timing of marriage solemnisation is discussed and seasonal constraints on mobility examined. Specification of these issues is a necessary corollary of any adequate description. Such circumstantial evidence furthers the search for an

appropriate explanation by embedding the choice of an extraparochial partner in a limited, but more real social world.

I : Age and status on marriage

The ideal point at which to begin any enquiry into marital decisions is with the age and marital status of the parties concerned, for this may give a useful insight into the association between these variables and mobility. Unfortunately, very few registers provide any information on age and the status data are equally fragmentary in these Shropshire samples.

Demographic historians have given considerable attention to the problem of age at first marriage, and it is widely recognised that few manuscript registers give precise information prior to 1837 (Drake 1974 p. 65). The various possibilities to obtain age at marriage information - family reconstitution, licences and oral evidence - have not been explored in this enquiry, and the setting must be provided more from published comments than actual Shropshire data.

As noted in Chapter One, Smith (1978) has recently presented material on this theme for the period prior to 1730 and a review of the trends in the eighteenth and nineteenth century is documented by Outhwaite (1973). These studies suggest that the age of first marriage in the first half of the eighteenth century was 28 years for men and 27 years for women (Smith 1978), and that this level prevailed until the 1780s, decreasing only slightly, and then fell more rapidly, dropping to between 21-22 (median) years by 1837 (Wrigley 1966a) for women and 24-25 for men. Razzell (1965) using licence evidence, suggests with a larger sample, that the age of marriage of spinsters remained fairly constant at 24 years from 1615-1841, but here the data refer to a mean value, which might be greatly influenced by remarriages of older partners. Martin (1977) suggests a median age for grooms from 1754-1810 of between 24-28, and for brides between 22-25

for selected parishes in the Felden, Warwickshire. He also indicates slight variations between social groups in the age of first marriage, but the evidence for such differences is limited. Without wishing to enter into the debate on age at first marriage, these findings do provide a context within which to place the marital decision.

Of the Shropshire registers examined in this study, only a few make any reference to actual age, though most record, as was required under Hardwicke's Act, details of the marriage of minors. On seventeen occasions precise ages are given for one or both partners; these marriages yield details for 31 individuals - 14 men and 17 women. With so few entries little can be noted except that the average age for grooms is 30 and for brides 24, which fall near the levels discussed above. This matches findings by other workers in Shropshire (Jones1968, Razzell 1969).

In the absence of adequate age data, it must be accepted that partners to matrimony in the Shropshire data probably fall in the range of age specified above, and, it seems highly probable that many must have moved for employment prior to marriage. This point will be returned to later. It is possible to get some further insight into the background of the parties to matrimony by considering their marital status.

It is generally assumed that the majority of entries in the marriage register refer to marriages of bachelors and spinsters (Drake 1974). However, it is fairly widely accepted that levels of re-marriage were reasonably high. Little published evidence exists on this topic. Drake (1974) asserts that twenty per cent of all marriages were likely to involve at least one partner who had been married previously (p 66). This figure accords with Martin's findings in Napton on the Hill where between 1790-1829 10.3 per cent of the recorded marriages involved widowers, and in Old Stratford (1785-1809) where 19.8 per cent of marriages involved such liaisons (1977 p. 524-525). Stone (1977 p 25) has also emphasised the strong economic pressure necessitating remarriage and indicated that levels at this time were likely to be high.

Not all widows and widowers were 'of mature years'. Higher mortality levels characteristic of many periods in the past, the absence of acceptable social welfare facilities (for much social stigma and hardship fell on those supported by the parish) and general economic necessity must have encouraged women in particular to remarry as soon as possible on the death of their husbands. The frequency with which such events occurred no doubt also reflects the broader economic and social climate and, because of this, the record is of interest in its own right.

How far the manuscript evidence on status is correct is another matter. Many registers show none or few entries to which the titles widow or widower are attached, and the fragmentary character of the record suggests that incumbents were lax in completing the status details required under the Act. Further difficulties arise in the interpretation of the details where they do occur. Steel (1968 p 83) noted that the term 'widow' was often used in the eighteenth century, not only in the modern sense, but also to indicate a women past middle age who lived alone and was either of independent means or maintained herself by her own efforts. It can therefore be both an age and social standing measure. Wrigley (1969) has suggested that such interpretation and usage may vary in different temporal and spatial settings and called for more research in this area, but few extra insights have, as yet, been forthcoming.

In an attempt to explore this theme further, details of remarriage have been abstracted from the registers of 31 parishes taken from both samples. These parishes are mainly in the south of the county and cover the full range of population size groups characteristic of the area in 1811. They vary slightly in population density and in occupational structure, but are predominantly agricultural in economy even though the two small towns of Wem and Much Wenlock are included in their number. It seemed worthwhile to isolate partners who were remarrying on a number of counts. The frequency of such marriages might show some variation in time and place,

reflecting variations in age structure and economy of the communities concerned. Extraparochial choice of partners might be different for this sub-group as might their general social characteristics. It also seemed appropriate to examine this sub-group given their relative importance and the limited details available on remarriage patterns.

The records from these 31 parishes show considerable variation. Levels of remarriage indicate for the years from 1754-1810 proportions ranging from eighteen per cent in Smethcote to less than one per cent in many parishes; while the upper figure accords with the published statements, the range of values is wide. Whether this arises from incomplete recording or from the age structures of the communities concerned cannot be resolved from these data. The mean level of remarriage, 5.4 per cent, favours the former view, but in the absence of comparative statistics, cannot really be assessed. No consistency in the proportions of remarriage is evident for places of varying size and economy in these data and nothing can be made of this as a controlling factor.

Table 7.1 presents the temporal pattern of entry for these parishes and it appears that remarriage shows a similar pattern throughout the period. No significant difference exists between the profile of entry for remarriage and that for all marriages, nor is there any difference in the level of extraparochial association for marriages involving widows and widowers compared with the total population. This similarity is sustained for all forms of remarriage. <u>These findings suggest that the need for remarriage varied little between the sexes, or at different points in the period, and that effectively this component in the aggregate sample remains constant.</u>

Slightly more men remarry than women, choosing most frequently to marry spinsters (62.2 per cent) rather than widows (34.8 per cent). A similar tendency to choose previously single persons is evident for widows, where bachelors (59.7 per cent) dominate widowers (40.4 per cent) as the

Table 7.1 Remarriage in selected Shropshire parishes 1754-1801

	All marriages			Remarriages			
	Nm	Ep	% Ep	Nm	Ep	% Ep	% Nm
1754-1760	706	220	31.2	27	11	40.7	3.8
1761-1770	1100	287	26.1	81	13	16.1	7.4
1771-1780	1228	307	25.0	72	15	24.2	5.9
1781-1790	1111	254	22.9	37	9	24.3	3.3
1791-1800	1197	247	20.6	55	12	21.8	4.6
1801-1810	1162	273	23.5	76	18	23.7	6.5
Total	6504	1588	24.4	348	78	22.4	5.4

Remarriage structure

				Widowers			Widows		
	b-w	w-s	w-w	s	w	n	b	w	n
1754-1760	13	6	8	6	8	14	13	8	21
1761-1770	29	29	23	29	23	52	29	23	51
1771-1780	21	34	17	34	17	51	21	17	38
1781-1790	12	15	10	15	10	25	12	10	22
1791-1800	19	27	9	27	9	36	19	9	28
1801-1810	24	39	13	39	13	52	24	13	37
Total	118	150	80	150	80	230	118	80	198
%	33.9	43.1	22.9	65.2	34.8	100	59.6	40.4	100
End Rm %	35.9	41.8	22.2	64.5	35.5	100	61.8	38.2	100
Exo Rm %	26.9	47.4	25.6	67.2	32.8	100	51.2	48.8	100

Extraparochial remarriage

	b-w	w-s	w-w	Total	% Rm.
1754-1760	2	5	4	11	40.7
1761-1770	5	7	1	13	16.1
1771-1780	2	8	5	15	24.2
1781-1790	1	5	3	9	24.3
1791-1800	4	5	3	12	21.8
1801-1810	7	7	4	18	23.7
Total Ep Rm	21(26.9)	37(47.4)	20(25.6)	78	22.4
Total Rm	118(32.66)	150(40.76)	80(21.7)	348	100.0
Ep Rm % Rm	17.8	24.7	25.0	22.4	24.4

Distance:	b-w		w-s		w-w	
	b	w	w	s	w	w
No. of cases	15	6	25	12	12	8
Mean Dist. Km.	8.6	7.1	22.7	14.9	18.1	14.8

Source: Mss and transcribed registers of 31 Shropshire parishes (Wem, Wroxeter, Uppington, Little Wenlock, Berrington, Condover, Church Pulverbatch, Stapleton, Frodesley, Acton Burnell, Longnor, Smethcote, Church Stretton, Leebotwood, Wistanstow, Edgton, Hopesay, Stokesay, Culmington, Stanton Lacy, Bitterley, Bromfield, Onibury, Ashford Bowdler, Clungunford, Clee St. Margaret, Tugford, Ditton Priors, Much Wenlock, Barrow and Willey.

Key. Ep = extraparochial; b = bachelor; s = spinster; w = widow/widower; Rm = remarriage; End Rm = Endogamous Remarriage; Exo Rm = Exogamous Remarriage.

preferred partner. For widowers there is a gradual increase in the proportions marrying spinsters as the end of the period is neared and the same trend is evident for widows, though the increasing choice of bachelors is not as marked.

Similar, though not such clear trends are evident in the smaller sample of marriages involving extraparochial partners. Except for the period 1754-60, the proportions of such marriages are comparable with those exhibited by the total marriage record. When the different remarriage alternatives are considered, widower-spinster associations involve far more outside linkage than the other two forms. In general, the distances involved on remarriage are greater than average for both brides and grooms, though the small sample makes any absolute statement inappropriate. The records do indicate that on remarriage rather more women - widows and spinsters - marry away from their home parish than is common in other data sets (20 compared with less than 5 per cent), which may indicate a higher mobility attached to this type of association.

Few social variables can be isolated for this sub-sample (Table 7.2). Most couples who marry extraparochial partners authorise their association by licence, while local marriages are predominantly by banns. Remarriage appears to have taken place at all occupation levels within society, but appears to have been more frequent in farming and craft categories from these data. As occupation entries are usually incomplete, the bias to certain employments may be unrepresentative and is simply presented as illustration. Finally it appears, if the register from Much Wenlock is typical, that the ability to sign the register was greater in the widowed category than in the total population of grooms (46.6) and brides (27.3), which perhaps indicates that signatures reflect experience rather than literacy. Interestingly, widows and widowers more often than not married bachelors and spinsters who were unable to sign their names, which reinforces this point.

Table 7.2 Social characteristics of remarriage

(1) Banns and Licence weddings

	Banns	%	Licence	%
Local remarriage	105	70.4	44	29.5
Ep remarriage	14	22.9	47	77.0
Total remarriage	119	56.6	91	43.3

Source: 14 registers: Bromfield, Wistantow, Stanton Lacy, Onibury, Stokesay, Wenlock, Longnor, A. Burnell, Condover, Berrington, Smethcote, Stapleton, Leebotwood, Bitterley.

(2) Occupations and Remarriage

	b-w	w-s	w-w
I	Gentleman 1	Surgeon 1	Clergyman 1
IIa	Farmer 2 Yeoman 5 Husbandman 1	Farmer 1	
IIb	Maltster 1 Needlemaker 1 Shoemaker 2 Waggoner 1 Weaver 2 Glover 1 Thatcher 1 Blacksmith 1 Hatter 1	Ground collier 1	
III	Labourer 5		

I = Gentry, Professions; IIa = Farmers; IIb ; Tradesmen & Craftsmen;
III = Labourers.

Classification after Mills Amateur Historian 1965.

Source: Registers of Wenlock, Bromfield, Berrington, Smethcote, Stapleton, Wem and Bitterley.

(3) Remarriage and Literacy

	xx	%	✓x	%	x✓	%	✓✓	%	Total
b-w	16	55.1	6	20.7	3	10.3	4	13.8	29
w-s	25	49.0	14	27.5	2	3.9	10	19.6	51
w-w	10	45.5	5	22.7	1	4.5	6	27.3	22
Total	51	50.0	25	24.5	6	5.9	20	19.6	102

	x	%	✓	%
Bachelors	19	65.51	10	34.59
Spinsters	39	76.47	12	23.53
Widowers	38	52.05	35	47.95
Widows	30	58.82	21	41.18
Total	126	61.76	78	38.24

Source: Mss Register of Much Wenlock with Bourton.

x unable to sign
✓ signs register

b = bachelor s = spinster
w = widow/widower

This evidence, piecemeal though it is, does indicate that the population marrying was not composed wholly of those marrying for the first time. It suggests that the records contained a proportion of matches which were second or possibly third time associations, but that the relative proportion of these probably varied considerably between parishes. Generalisations suggesting uniformly high levels of remarriage in pre-industrial society must therefore be treated cautiously, until adequate statistics justify fully such assertions. This evidence may be equally unrepresentative due to the incomplete recording of the status details by incumbents, but it does suggest the need for fuller documentation of this sub-group if the theme is to be explored further.

It therefore appears that the bulk of marriages discussed in the earlier chapters were contracted between bachelors in their late twenties and spinsters who were slightly younger. Alongside these were a varying proportion of remarriages, which in general terms, showed similar characteristics to the majority of first marriages recorded in the registers. With these population characteristics fixed, the discussion continues by considering the initial decision taken by parties in matrimony, namely whether to marry by banns or licence, for details on authorisation provide an insight into social contrasts in marriage habits.

II : The choice of authorisation procedure

The registers make reference to two forms of marriage authorisation - either by the publication of banns or by the obtaining of a marriage licence. These separate procedures have been widely discussed and a number of workers have examined in detail the record of marriage allegations and bonds which were the basis of issuing licences. Elliott (1973) has shown that those who married by licence were both younger and of higher social status than the population married by banns. Outhwaite (1973) has

stressed that the licence system was used only by a minority of the population, and, more specifically, by those who required speed and privacy for personal or social reasons.

Once an allegation had been made and licence issued, provided applicants had fulfilled the four week residential qualification, marriage could take place in a few days. It was not bound by the ecclesiastical periods of prohibition and it created a freedom from public scrutiny desired by many. Thus brides in advanced stages of pregnancy, men wishing to make honest women of their mistresses, non-Anglicans, lapsed church-goers, and couples from differing social backgrounds might, provided they could afford it, take advantage of this form of authorisation. The differential cost between the two procedures, with licences costing twice the amount charged for the publication of banns, restricted the use of this form to those most able to pay, although the informality of the method might mean lower outgoings on wedding celebrations.

One other critical advantage of the licence procedure was that it reduced the necessity of returning to the 'home' parish for the calling of banns on the required 'three successive Sundays' and it therefore must have been an appealing procedure for those who married extraparochial brides and grooms, particularly if the obligations of service or distance prevented such mobility.

Banns marriages, in contrast, represented the customary, majority form, in which the local publication of the event gave the community full notice, took longer and was frequently used for endogamous marriages and those involving the poor sections of the parish population. Outhwaite stresses that licence authorisation shows both temporal and spatial variation, but the distinction between the two forms is of more importance than this contrast alone. Critical to this enquiry is the association between the choice of procedure and mobility and what this subsequently illuminates about different social groups and their marital behaviour.

The material presented in this section is drawn from the records of sixteen parishes in south Shropshire, which are representative of the trends in most parishes included in this survey. A series of themes are considered in this section. Firstly, consideration is given to the choice of authorisation procedure and how it varies through time. Secondly, the association between choice of procedure and mobility is considered. Thirdly, some comments are made on the relationship between records of signatures and choice of procedure. Finally, the relationship between community status, choice of procedure and mobility is examined. The association between authorisation and occupation and seasonality is dealt with in later sections.

Table 7.3 presents details of the incidence of the two forms of marriage in the sample parishes. Throughout the period licence authorisation was a minority procedure (30.8 per cent) heavily, though not exclusively, favoured by those who married extraparochially (69.2 per cent). Local, endogamous, marriages were dominated by banns authorisation (81.3 per cent). This overall finding is confirmed at the level of individual parishes. Licence marriages vary around a mean of 32.9 per cent (sd. 7.5), suggesting that, in all parishes, the minority role for this form of authorisation was common. When the breakdown into local and non-local marriages is considered, the least variation is shown in the first category. Here, the majority of endogamous marriages are by banns (mean 86.6 per cent sd. 7.9): greater variation is evident in the record of exogamous marriages by licence. These vary around a mean 60.0 per cent (sd. 12.9), suggesting contrasts between parishes in the use of this form of authorisation.

The emphasis on each form of authorisation also changes through time. When the aggregate profiles of banns and licence entry are compared from 1754-1810, using a two sample Kolmogrov Smirnov test, no significant difference is evident in their cumulative profiles. This pattern within

Table 7.3 Marriage authorisation in 16 Shropshire parishes

	Total				Endogamous				Exogamous			
	Nm	Banns	Licences	% Banns	Nm	Banns	Licences	% Banns	Nm	Banns	Licences	% Licences
1754-1760	347	238	109	68.6	241	185	56	76.8	106	53	53	50.0
1761-1770	556	377	179	67.8	404	310	94	76.7	152	67	85	55.9
1771-1780	665	441	224	66.3	481	380	101	79.0	184	61	123	66.9
1781-1790	556	410	146	73.7	414	361	53	87.2	142	49	93	65.5
1791-1800	544	363	181	66.7	400	327	73	81.8	144	36	108	75.0
1801-1810	551	400	151	72.6	397	337	60	84.8	154	63	91	59.1
	3219	2229	990	69.2	2337	1900	437	81.3	882	329	553	62.7

Source: See Table 7.4.

the overall marriage series disguises changes which do occur in its individual parts, which complement each other and produce the seeming stability. For endogamous marriages the data in Table 7.3 show a rising proportion of banns until 1790 followed by a levelling off: a comparable pattern is evident for exogamous marriages. Here, licences increase until 1770, then stabilise until 1790 and increase dramatically to 1800, only to fall to the level at the start of the period in the final decade.

When the distributions between banns and licenced events are considered for local and non-local marriages, chi-square tests confirm different distributions between the two forms by decade (Endogamous x^2 = 23.362 df 5 CV 0.01 = 20.52 : Exogamous x^2 = 22.296 df 5 CV 0.001 = 20.52). This difference also emerges for both series in their pattern of entry through time (KS Endogamous Od = 0.1138 S 0.01 = 0.0879 : Exogamous = Od = 0.1152 S 0.01 = 0.1141). For the endogamous series the change occurs by the decade 1771-80 and for exogamous by 1761-70. For local marriages this means that after 1780 licence marriages were significantly reduced, and that for non-local by 1770, a comparably significant reduction had occurred in the proportions of extraparochial banns marriage. It therefore appears that during these years the method of marriage authorisation associated with each form of marriage entrenches its position, so that banns dominate endogamous marriages and licences exogamous one. This finding confirms Outhwaite's conclusion of temporal variation in licence authorisation.

These data suggest a clear relationship between the choice of authorisation procedure and mobility which is worth examining further. On 882 occasions (27.4 per cent of all marriages) spouses were drawn from outside the parish of the bride or groom. As in the material discussed earlier, the majority of these exogamous marriages involved an extra-parochial groom (82.5 per cent) and 61.5 per cent of these marriages were by licence. A slightly higher proportion of the extraparochial brides chose the licence procedure (68.2 per cent), but these proportions do

Table 7.4. Marriage authorisation and Marriage distances

			km. n	mode	median	mean
Licence		Brides	105	4	7	11.22
		Grooms	448	4	9	17.19
Banns		Brides	49	4	6	9.97
		Grooms	280	4	6	8.45

		Adj. ps	%	Within Co.	%	Outside Co.	%	Total
Licence	Brides	39	(37.1)	52	(49.5)	14	(13.3)	105
	Grooms	158	(35.3)	201	(44.9)	89	(19.9)	448
		197	(35.6)	253	(45.8)	103	(18.6)	553
Banns	Brides	20	(40.8)	28	(57.1)	1	(2.0)	49
	Grooms	142	(50.7)	119	(42.5)	19	(6.8)	280
		162	(49.2)	147	(44.7)	20	(6.1)	329

		Urban within Co	% Co ep	Urban outside Co	%	Total	% eps
Licence	Brides	19	20.87	4	28.6	23	21.90
	Grooms	95	26.46	37	41.5	132	29.46
		114	25.33	41	39.8	155	28.02
Banns	Brides	9	18.75	-	-	9	18.36
	Grooms	37	14.17	5	26.3	42	15.00
		48	15.53	5	25.0	51	15.50

Source: The Mss and transcribed registers of Much Wenlock, Bitterley, Hopesay, Acton Burnell, Berrington, Condover, Pitchford, Longnor, Stapleton, Leebotwood, Smethcote, Wistanstow, Onibury, Stokesay, Bromfield and Stanton Lacy.

not differ significantly. In terms of non-customary marriage practice, there is no evidence to support the view that extraparochial brides chose a licence procedure in preference to banns, which might perhaps have been anticipated.

Table 7.4 presents the marriage distances associated with each procedure. For both brides and grooms it is clear that licenced marriages involve considerably longer mean marriage distances, though there is very little variation in the modes and medians for all data series. The marriage distance profiles, when tested using a Kolmogorov Smirnov test, show no significant difference in the profiles for brides and grooms, but differences do arise when the profiles for each form of authorisation are considered. The profiles for licence authorised marriages differ in aggregate from those of banns marriages (K/S Od = 0.1606 SO.01 = 0.1141) and are clearly of greater distance and more continuously distributed.

The factor contributing most to this pattern is the clear contrast in marriage distance profiles between the grooms marrying by licence and those by banns, where significant differences are again evident (K/S Od = 0.2028 SO. 01 = 0.1032). None of the other profiles differ in a manner that is significant. This evidence suggests that licence authorisation has a marked relationship with marriage distance for men and a more equivocal role in the case of extraparochial brides.

Table 7.4 also provides a breakdown of the pattern of origins of the extraparochial partners. As with the previous results, the majority are drawn from within the county and of these a sizeable proportion come from adjacent parishes. No significant difference is evident in the pattern of choices of brides and grooms, but a clear difference emerges between licence and banns marriages (X^2 = 32.73 df 2 S 0.001 = 13.82), with fewer drawn from adjacent parishes and over 18 percent coming from outside the county to marry in Shropshire parishes in the former category. This difference is attributable to the contrast in banns and licence authorised marriages for grooms where significant

contrasts emerge (X^2 = 30.07 S 0.001), but differences at 0.05 or better cannot be identified for brides. These findings match those presented above and reinforce the sex-specific variation noted there.

Significant differences are also supported between licence and banns marriages and the levels of urban contact (X^2 = 6.64 df1 S. 0.01 = 6.64) and between the urban contacts of the grooms married by licence compared with those by banns (X^2 = 4.52 df 1 S 0.05 = 3.84). Elsewhere the number of cases makes the application of the test impossible or borderline and no major contrasts are evident. The pattern of contact with urban centres, when it does occur, reflects both proximity and the graded urban hierarchy. Thus the largest number of grooms come from the county town of Shrewsbury (39), followed by Ludlow (25), with smaller numbers from lower ranked centres. The towns on, or peripheral to, the north east Shropshire coalfield collectively account for another 30 linkages. A similar set of linkages are evident for brides. Outside the county, London, followed by Worcester and Birmingham, are the most popular.

These data indicate that in marriages involving an extraparochial groom, the authorisation procedure was most likely to be by licence and, when this was the case, the linkage would usually be over longer distances than was characteristic of banns authorised marriages. It was also more likely to involve a partner from an urban centre. For extraparochial brides the spatial convenience of the licence procedure was also of significance, but there are no clear contrasts between the distance characteristics associated with each form of authorisation.

It therefore appears that differences emerge in the choice of authorisation procedure for the couples recorded in these samples, with the spatial convenience of the licence method acting as a significant determinant of authorisation for those who married extraparochial partners. If Elliott's

(1973) evidence is accepted, most licence marriages were between individuals of higher social status. From this it would follow that many of the extraparochial linkages were between those of higher rank in the community. This is only partly borne out by the limited occupational data which can be associated with this record (Table 7.5). The licence entries are clearly associated with persons in the higher social categories but they occur elsewhere too. This theme will be developed more fully later and is simply noted at this stage.

The role of social status in influencing the choice of procedure leads naturally to the association between the signature evidence and methods of authorisation. The use of signatures as a coarse surrogate measure of 'literacy' has already been referred to and while it raised innumerable problems, it might be considered a valuable guide, differentiating the population.

As an illustration of the levels of signatures associated with each form of authorisation Table 7.6 documents the record for the parish of Much Wenlock with Bourton. In aggregate terms, the record suggests low levels of signatures throughout the period, with nearly twice as many men capable of signing the registers as women. When these patterns are disaggregated into their endogamous and exogamous components differences emerge. At the outset, 1754-60, there is little difference in the level of signatures in either data set, but in subsequent decades clear contrasts emerge. The records for grooms and brides in the endogamous series show below average levels of signatures with little change through time. In contrast, the exogamous record shows a continuous increase in the proportions who do sign the register as time passes. It is clear that the mobile sections of the population were probably better educated and at least were more able to sign their own names than those who selected spouses from within the parish.

Table 7.5 Occupation and Marriage authorisation

(1) By sector

		Exogamous		Endogamous		Total	
		B	L	B	L	B	L
I	Agriculture	3	11	16	5	19	16
II	Building	-	1	5	1	5	2
III	Manufacture	6	7	36	11	42	18
IV	Transport	-	2	-	1	-	3
V	Dealing	-	-	-	-	-	-
VI	Public and Prof.	1	6	1	1	2	7
VII	Menial Occup.	15	4	64	9	79	13
VIII	Independent Means	-	6	-	5	-	11
	Total	25	37	122	33	147	70

(2) By Class/social standing

	Exogamous		Endogamous		Total	
Class I	1	12	1	6	2	18
Class IIa	1	9	9	5	10	14
Class IIb	6	10	41	13	47	23
Class III	17	6	71	9	88	15
Total	25	37	122	33	147	70

(3) Marriage authorisation and marriage distance (km)

	Banns		Licence		Total	
	n	md(km)	n	md(km)	n	md(km)
Class I	1	31.1	12	14.54	13	15.81
Class IIa	1	3.6	9	7.73	10	7.31
Class IIb	6	11.1	10	5.79	16	7.77
Class III	16	6.6	6	6.74	22	6.64
Total	24	8.6	37	9.25	61	9.00

Key Class I - Professionals, Gentry
IIă - Farmers
IIb - Dealers, merchants, retailers and craftsmen
III - Labourers.

After Mills 1965.

Source: Mss and transcribed registers of Much Wenlock, Condover, Berrington, Pitchford, Longnor, Smethcote, Stapleton, Leebotwood, Bromfield, Wistanstow, Stanton Lacy, Stokesay and Bitterley.

Table 7.6 Register signatures (literacy) Much Wenlock

		Total marr.		Endogamous		Exogamous	
	Nm	% G lit	% B lit	% G lit	% B lit	% G lit	% B lit
1754-1760	91	51.6	25.3	50.0	25.7	56.0	24.0
1761-1770	130	49.2	24.6	40.4	21.1	46.1	38.5
1771-1780	169	43.8	30.2	42.8	28.6	53.3	46.7
1780-1790	137	46.0	25.5	41.2	19.3	77.7	66.6
1791-1800	100	44.0	28.0	38.6	20.4	83.3	83.3
1801-1810	115	50.4	33.0	46.6	27.2	83.3	83.3
Total	742	47.2	27.9	42.9	24.0	62.9	50.9

	Banns		Licence	
	% G lit	% B lit	% G lit	% B lit
1754-1760	41.4	12.8	85.7	66.6
1761-1770	42.1	13.6	68.5	54.3
1771-1780	32.5	19.0	76.7	62.8
1781-1790	36.0	13.5	88.5	76.9
1791-1800	28.5	12.8	80.0	63.3
1801-1810	38.1	19.0	83.9	71.0
Total	36.3	15.4	79.5	65.1

Ability to sign and choice of spouse: 1754-1810

	Both sign	Groom signs	Bride signs	No signatures
Licence				
End	68	26	4	22
Exo	45	9	4	8
T	113	35	8	30
Banns				
End	48	140	32	294
Exo	4	10	2	26
T	52	150	34	320

As might be expected, a major contrast is also evident between the levels of signatures for banns and licence authorised events. Banns marriages show lower levels of signatures than for all marriages, implying that those couples who chose this form were from the lower strata of society. The level for licence marriages is well above average and exceeds the level for extraparochial marriages previously noted as high. When these data are split between their endogamous and exogamous patterns the same contrasts are retained, with no significant differences established between either marriage type for either the banns or licence data.

When these data are considered in terms of the choice of partner similar contrasts emerge. These are illustrated in Table 7.6 and it is clear that the majority of men marrying by licence who were able to sign their names chose women with comparable abilities. The majority of grooms marrying by banns married brides who were unable to sign and the dominance of the wholly unsigned unions in the banns record is very striking. These distinctions carry over into the associations between signatures and mobility.

Table 7.7 reveals that differences do exist in the marriage distance statistics between grooms and brides who sign the register and those who do not. 'Literate' grooms have considerably wider horizons than those who do not sign. The situation is different for brides, where the reverse applies, but this contrast may be unreliable due to the small numbers involved. Clearly, if the ability to sign measures 'literacy' and education, then this also correlates closely with the dimensions of the marriage field. <u>There is therefore a close association between this measure of 'literacy', the method of marriage authorisation and the scale of mobility</u>. If the pattern of this one parish is typical, it provides a further calibration which can be incorporated into an explanation of the spatial patterns documented earlier.

Table 7.7 Marriage distances (kms) and ability to sign the register

	Mean distance	Mode	Median	N
Grooms				
Signed	26.15	12&18	11	53
Unsigned	9.96	3	8	33
Brides				
Signed	10.87	5	11	8
Unsigned	11.05	5	6	14

Source: Mss register Much Wenlock with Bourton.

One final issue requires attention in this section; namely the relationship between community status, choice of procedure and mobility. Much was made earlier of the distinction between the levels of exogamy occurring at different points in the settlement hierarchy and this needs to be integrated with the evidence on authorisation procedures. As in the analyses discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, in this sub sample, population rank (of a parish) is inversely correlated with the level of extraparochial contact. Thus the larger a parish, in terms of its indigenous population, the less the necessity for search outside for employment and the lower the level of extraparochial marriage. As demographically larger parishes are likely to be more socially heterogenous, more innovative and more responsive to social change, it was hypothesised that the proportion of licence marriages might be greater in such places and decline in frequency with population size.

While this trend was positively identified in these data (rs = 0.3632 NS 0.05 = 0.425) the trend was shown not to be statistically significant. An alternative hypothesis linking licence authorisation to mobility received stronger support, with a clear correlation emerging between the proportions of licenced matches and the level of extraparochial contact (rs = 0.6617 S 0.01 = 0.601). As the latter are greatest in the smallest places, two processes appear to affect the pattern of authorisation. Firstly, one related to what might be termed the 'modernity' of a place, which increases the probability of licence authorisation <u>up</u> the settlement hierarchy, secondly, one which is mobility related. This links licence authorisation to non-local marriages, which works <u>down</u> the settlement hierarchy. In this sample, mobility is stronger than modernity, though this might not be preserved in a larger data set. Spatial variation in licence authorisation is therefore confirmed following Outhwaite's suggestion.

This section has concentrated on the role of marriage authorisation as a discriminatory variable in the analysis of Anglican marriage data.

The analysis, based on evidence drawn from sixteen parishes in south Shropshire, confirms many of the patterns identified in other studies. It has considered the evidence by moving from descriptive structural regularities to identify some of social factors which have shaped the pattern. The reason for this approach is a pragmatic one, for the data are easier to handle in these terms; but from the point of view of explanation it is easier to reverse the evidence. Such a reversal provides a scenario of the character of the forces influencing choice of procedure for individuals in any parish and refines the simple spatial patterns and regularities presented earlier.

It appears that when faced with the problem of selecting the method of authorisation, people of lowly social standing and limited educational ability, who were probably marrying local spouses, selected banns authorisation, unless they were marrying extraparochial partners, when the spatial convenience of the licence method may have been adopted. Those of higher social status and better education invariably chose the licence procedure, whether they married local spouses or not. They selected their spouses more frequently from outside the parish and very often from places quite far away. Here, the spatial convenience of the method, coupled with the social convention and no doubt status attached to this more costly form of procedure, encouraged its widespread use.

As the relative proportions of people in each social class varied according to the size of the community, so too did the frequency with which licence authorisation was chosen. Thus in larger places, with a greater proportion of people in higher class groupings, marriages were more likely to be licence authorised. However alongside this was a counter trend. The spatial convenience of licence authorisation meant that people who had to move for employment and found a wife in the process also preferred this form. As these individuals were most common in the smaller parishes where job opportunities were less, it is in the smallest places

that the highest levels of extraparochial association are found. A combination of these two factors increased or modified the probability of choosing a particular form of authorisation. The likelihood of settling for banns authorisation if the marriage took place locally, or, licence authorisation with a non-local spouse, increased as the period advanced.

Such a case, by its specification of alternatives and variations, emphasises the necessity for basing understanding of the past on a balanced view derived from the total register evidence rather than drawing on the more limited perspective presented by the record of marriage allegations and bonds. The assumption has implicitly been, that the form of authorisation determines the type of marriage which might be expected. This presumes that for any marriage, one or other form of authorisation is more appropriate and will be automatically accepted or chosen by the population (i.e. the probability of a prescribed choice is high). This appears to be the case, but it is important to recognise that while accepted social conventions of authorisation may be generally adopted by a population, in the first instance it is the people themselves who make the choice. They determine the form most acceptable to them. Attention now turns therefore to a variable already referred to in passing, namely social status (measured from occupation entries), and the role this plays in shaping marriage patterns.

III : Occupation, class structure and marriage

It is traditional in contemporary sociological enquiries to use the occupations of the parties to matrimony to produce a social classification and subsequently to examine the degree of assortive mating and class endogamy (Drake 1974, Berent 1954, Glass 1954). While such an approach is possible using Anglican registers after 1837, when the occupations of

spouses and their parents are frequently given, the same is not the case prior to that date. The limited and erratic entry of occupational information during the eighteenth century means that the best which can be achieved is to provide an illustrative picture of the relationship between occupation and endogamous and exogamous marriages, and to document any contrasts evident in marriage horizons for different social groups.

The scarcity of occupational entries from 1754-1810 has meant that the comments which follow are based on a rather odd sampling structure. Occupational entries occur in the records of 25 parishes, the most complete records come from the parishes of Wem (180), Much Wenlock (73), Berrington (104) with the remaining parishes contributing between 18 and one occupational descriptions. Twelve of these parishes provide details for both endogamous and exogamous partners and thus allow comparisons to be drawn between the sub samples who marry locally and those who wed partners from outside the parish. No attempt has been made to use marriage allegations and bonds in this survey, which have been the source of this type of information in previous studies (Elliott 1973), because of the bias implicit in such registration. The occupational details discussed are therefore for both banns and licenced matches and are, for the periods when they exist, fairly representative of the total population.

Table 7.8 documents the pattern of entry of occupations, 481 in all, recorded in these registers. These are concentrated prior to 1770 and fall off in numbers as the period passes. Far more occupations are given for endogamous marriages with only 28.8 per cent involving extraparochial associations. This compares favourably with the comparable relationship for all marriages in the sample, where extraparochial alliances constitute 24.1 per cent of all marriages. In this sense at least, the occupational data may be considered representative. A further point of some significance in this table, is the rising proportion of occupational entries for grooms of extraparochial origin (column 7) as the period progresses. This may

Table 7.8 Occupational entries for grooms 1754-1810

	Total Nm	Total Ep	Occ.	Occ % Nm	Ep Occ.	Ep Occ% Ep	Ep Occ/ Occ %
1754-1760	714	230	154	21.6	49	21.3	31.8
1761-1770	1176	308	160	13.6	27	8.8	16.9
1771-1780	1329	304	50	3.8	12	3.9	24.0
1781-1790	1149	238	32	2.8	17	7.1	53.1
1791-1800	1071	238	54	5.0	17	7.1	31.5
1801-1810	1105	259	31	2.8	15	5.8	48.3
Total	6544	1577	481	7.3	137	8.7	28.4

Source: Mss and transcribed registers of Pontesbury, Westbury, Barrow, Willey, Much Wenlock, Condover, Pitchford, Longnor, Berrington, Stapleton, Smethcote, Leebotwood, Harley, Diddlebury, Acton Scott, Bromfield, Wistanstow, Stanton Lacy, Stokesay, Bitterley, Church Stretton, Kinlet, Uffington, Uppington and Wem.

Table 7.9 Occupational structure of grooms

By Economic Sector:

		Endog.	%	Exog.	%	Total	%
I	Agriculture	118	73.3	43	26.7	161	33.47
II	Building	10	71.4	4	28.5	14	2.91
III	Manufacture	85	72.6	32	27.3	117	24.32
IV	Transport	4	66.6	2	33.3	6	1.46
V	Dealing	2	66.6	1	33.3	3	0.72
VI	Public and Prof.	9	45.0	11	55.0	20	8.03
VII	Menial Occ.	108	78.3	30	21.7	138	21.89
VIII	Independent Means	8	36.4	14	63.6	22	10.21
	Total	344		137		481	100.0

Class and marital choice of grooms

	Exo. Occupations	%	Endo. Occupations	%	Total Occupations
Class I	25	59.5	17	40.4	42
Class IIa	36	27.8	101	72.1	140
IIB	39	23.8	118	76.1	155
Class III	37	25.0	108	75.0	144
Total	137	28.5	344	71.5	481

Classification: see Tables 7.2 - 7.5.

Source: Mss and transcribed registers of 25 Shropshire parishes (Table 7.8).

reflect the fact that these men most frequently married by licence, which incorporated occupational information. Alternatively, their 'foreign' origin may have made them more noteworthy to the local cleric. Whatever the reason, as the penultimate column indicates, the data are only available for a minority of those who married extraparochially.

Historical classifications of occupations in status or class terms are notoriously difficult. The actual descriptions of occupations usually do not allow distinctions to be drawn between owner and tenant farmer, master and apprentice tradesman and consequently the data input into any classification is invariably crude. The 481 entries provide 93 individual descriptions of occupations. Many of these descriptions represent different statements of the same type of employment and can be further reduced to 48 generalised categories, which, while they ignore any status features implicit in the actual description, does aid interpretation and classification.

These standardised occupations cover the full range of employments from those of Independent Means through to menial work, but are unrepresentative of occupations associated with dealing and retail trades, building and transport. Various classifications have been proposed for handling historical data on occupation (Armstrong 1972, Mills 1965) and the difficulties of using them have been frequently stressed. Two separate tabulations are used in this analysis: the first, a simple tabulation based on economic sectors modified to accommodate the character of the data; the second, following Mills (1965). The latter is used as a crude representation of the status hierarchy. Class I, containing those of Independent Means and in public and professional occupations is at the top of the status hierarchy. These represent the Gentry and the middle class. While some farmers may well deserve to be included in this group, the impossibility of identifying their social standing or size of holding from the record prevents this. Consequently, all farmers, husbandmen and

yeomen, no doubt covering a broad social spectrum, form category IIa - a middle-middle to lower middle class group. Class IIb comprises all those in Trade, Manufacturing, Craft and Retailing, with no doubt a comparable range to IIa, and again placed in the same or possibly slightly lower social category. Class III comprises labourers, servants, industrial labour and estateworkers, constituting a clear manual unskilled group. The breakdown of the sample in both classifications is presented in Table 7.9.

When occupations are classified on the basis of sectors clear distinctions are evident between local and non-local marriages in occupational distribution (X^2 = 23.75 df 7 S 0.01 on data as presented: X^2 = 23.60 df 4 S 0.001 CV 18.48 on modified data with categories II, IV and V combined). Comparable differences emerge between endogamous and exogamous marriages in the class tabulation (X^2 = 22.36 df 3 S 0.001 = 16.27).

It therefore appears that individuals employed in Agriculture, Building, Manufacture and Menial occupations were more likely to marry local partners, while those of Independent Means and in public and professional employments generally married extraparochial partners. These distinctions clearly carry over into the status classification, where there is a noticeable contrast between Class I and other groupings in their degree of localisation in choice of partner. It should however be noted that if these occupational entries were considered outside these classifications, very few of them are wholly restricted to the endogamous or exogamous record. Only on four occasions do occupations occur for extraparochial marriages that do not occur for endogamous associations. In the endogamous record, on 19 occasions, occupations occur which are not found in the extraparochial record. It therefore appears that though occupation and class to some extent predetermine the type of marriage, this determination is not absolute.

The 137 cases where occupational details are given for extraparochial marriages provide 136 marriage distances for evaluation. This limited data set makes any appraisal of the relationship between marriage distance and economic sector inappropriate. However the information is presented in Table 7.10 simply for completeness. Of greater interest are the marriage distances retabulated on the basis of the class/social standing stratification.

This suggests differences in the average distance travelled in all three of the 4 categories. These differences are confirmed by employing a Mann Whitney 'U' test on the data (Hammond and McCullagh (1974) p 177-180). This indicates that the marriage territory of Class I is significantly different from the other three groups. Class III, differs significantly from Class I and Class IIa, but surprisingly not from Class IIb. No significant difference can be identified between Classes IIa and IIb. It therefore appears that a three-fold marriage space can be identified. This blurs with descent of the social spectrum. This finding fits in with the proportions of extraparochial alliances and the non-exclusivity of occupational entry discussed earlier. The higher the rank of an individual, the greater the marriage distance associated with the choice of an extraparochial partner.

One final point concerning the origins of extraparochial partners can be made from these data. For the sample as a whole 34.6 per cent of all extraparochial partners come from the surrounding towns. Two classes stand out as those with high urban contacts - Class I (64 per cent) and Class IIb (51.3 per cent) - while the farmers (13.9 per cent) and those in menial employments (16.6 per cent) have lower levels of association with urban areas. This does not necessarily imply longer distance mobility, for many small towns lie adjacent to parishes from which these data were collected. What it does indicate is that there were contrasts in the way different social groups were aligned to the urban system.

Table 7.10 Marriage distances and the occupation of extraparochial grooms

(1) By sector

		n	$\bar{x}$(km.)		n	$\bar{x}$(km.)
I	Agriculture	42	9.88	I	42	9.88
II	Building	4	5.87			
III	Manufacture	32	10.10			
IV	Transport	2	5.40	II	39	10.83
V	Dealing	1	65.00			
VI	Public/Prof.	11	19.65	VI	11	19.65
VII	Menial	30	6.50	VII	30	6.50
VIII	Independent Means	14	40.58	VIII	14	40.58

(2) By Class/Social standing

	N	$\bar{x}$(km.)
Class I	25	31.38
Class IIa	36	10.54
IIb	39	10.83
Class III	36	6.40
Total	136	13.35

(3) Marriage distance and status/economic position

'z' values		Mann Whitney 'U' values			
		Class I	Class IIa	Class IIb	Class III
	Class I	-	322	285.5	123
	Class IIa	1.848*	-	801.5	923.5
	Class IIb	2.779*	1.005	-	848.5
	Class III	4.795*	3.1027*	1.5536	-

* Significant $\geq$0.05

Note: See text for classification.

These general conclusions provide a valuable perspective on the relationship between marriage and occupation. A certain order is apparent in these data which suggests that with more complete register evidence the aggregate patterns discussed earlier could be disaggregated into a hierarchy of marriage spaces. The dimensions of these are bounded and controlled by occupation and status, which in turn reflect educational divides within late eighteenth century society. The material presented here gives some indications of the way such social spaces might be calibrated.

IV : The timing of marriage solemnisation and its relationship to mobility

One final aspect of marriage choice can be examined from the additional material recorded in these Shropshire registers, namely seasonality and the way the choice of the month in which a marriage was solemnised varied during the period. Some discussion of the seasonality of marriage has already occurred in the literature (Bradley 1970, Edwards 1977) and it is clear that certain regular patterns are discernible in the timing of events. These reflect periods of ecclesiastical discouragement during three periods of the year. The first of these from Septuagesima to Low Sunday, relates to the position of Easter, and is evident in the months of February, March and April. The second from Rogation to Trinity, covered two weeks in May, while the final period was from Advent to Hiliary, affecting December and January.

Edwards (1977) has discussed the influence of these periods in seventeen Shropshire parishes and considered the stability of monthly seasonality patterns from 1761-1810. In that analysis it was shown that the Lenten period of discouragement strongly influenced the aggregate record, with lower than average levels of marriage in March and April. The other periods had less influence. Indeed, May was the peak month chosen by the largest number of couples, and a peak of above average marriages was also

evident in December. The summer months were less popular for marriage, though this showed some variation in parishes of different demographic rank. It was also suggested that the nature of the community, the level of extraparochial association, the role of economic constraints and the impact of local customary practice played a part in shaping those records.

As the aggregate patterns for those seventeen parishes are already documented, the comments which follow (relating to the same sample) explore the relationship between seasonality and extraparochial marriage, marriage authorisation and marriage distance. In so doing, they provide some precise information on the timing of marriage, which is specifically of relevance to the central theme of this enquiry.

Table 7.11 presents the seasonality index for the seventeen parishes, disaggregated into endogamous and exogamous marriages. This index standardises all months to a common length and then represents the number of events per standardised month on a scale in which, with an even monthly distribution, each month would record 100. This provides a measure of relative performance around a mean value (Fleury and Henry 1965). It allows attention to be concentrated on 'local' as opposed to extraparochial influences and reveals any seasonal constraint or encouragement of mobility.

In aggregate, for the total period, endogamous marriages are concentrated heavily in May, December, June and February and in all these months the levels of local marriages exceed the proportions of extraparochial alliances. Exogamous marriages are equally common in May, June, November, January, February and April. December does not figure as a popular month and the summer months show lower frequencies. The incidence of extraparochial marriage is noticeably higher in March (74 cf. 45), suggesting in this central Lenten month that those marriages which did occur were allowed because they involved grooms from a distance, who were probably also married by licence. This would remove the necessity of publishing banns in late February and early March.

Table 7.11 Seasonality of marriage in seventeen Shropshire parishes for endogamous and exogamous marriages

		J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
1761-1770	Ex	126	153	80	89	186	62	72	80	76	66	110	93
	End	87	96	43	85	261	111	85	75	55	95	75	127
1771-1780	Ex	77	140	44	91	205	103	88	77	39	93	143	93
	End	94	114	31	91	280	123	74	74	65	70	67	112
1781-1790	Ex	99	68	64	148	183	148	106	35	59	128	95	64
	End	94	95	32	79	205	135	92	71	71	102	132	158
1791-1800	Ex	112	77	90	110	183	88	92	86	72	92	94	99
	End	88	91	45	99	187	131	84	102	76	78	84	129
1801-1810	Ex	124	76	93	71	193	169	58	82	49	71	122	87
	End	75	147	78	108	190	102	78	71	78	74	81	112
Total	EX	107	105	74	100	191	114	83	72	57	89	114	88
	END	88	108	45	92	224	120	82	79	69	83	79	126

Source : Mss and transcribed registers of Wem, Condover, Bitterley, Stanton Lacy, Stretton, Wistanstow, Bromfield, Berrington, Stokesay, Hopesay, Onibury, Smethcote, Acton Burnell, Pitchford, Stapleton, Longnor and Leebotwood.

Table 7.12 Marriage authorisation and seasonality in fifteen Shropshire parishes

Monthly index value

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
All Banns	71	86	39	93	294	132	80	81	60	85	85	93
All Licence	83	126	65	102	182	117	85	76	67	89	129	79
Endog Banns	65	85	32	93	290	145	78	83	62	87	80	101
Endog Licence	62	139	47	113	230	78	85	79	52	100	117	96
Exo Banns	88	93	79	91	314	91	93	68	50	88	96	49
Exo Licence	95	117	76	96	150	142	85	74	76	82	137	69

Monthly index values

	Nm	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
End. Marr.	1539	64	95	34	97	279	133	79	83	60	87	89	100
Exo. Marr.	685	93	109	77	94	208	124	88	72	68	84	122	62
Total	2224	73	99	48	96	257	130	82	80	62	86	99	86

Source : Mss and transcribed registers as in Table 7.11, omitting Wem and Church Stretton.

Table 7.13 Seasonality and Marriage distances in seventeen Shropshire parishes

		distance(km)			
	N Ep.	Mode	Median	Mean	Ep + 30 km.
January	84	6	8	19.0	13.1
February	75	2	8	22.3	5.3
March	58	6	8	16.3	5.2
April	76	4	8	15.8	10.5
May	150	4	7	14.1	8.0
June	87	4	8	12.5	8.0
July	65	5,6,8,10	10	16.0	12.5
August	57	4	8	11.4	3.5
September	44	4	7	28.9	15.6
October	70	8	8	14.1	7.0
November	87	3 & 8	8	18.0	17.3
December	69	4	8	15.0	8.6

Source : Mss and transcribed registers as in Table 7.11.

The aggregate monthly seasonality pattern for endogamous and exogamous marriages does correlate at (r_s=0.6520 S 0.05=0.506) a significant level indicating no major contrasts between the series. The differences which do exist are ones of emphasis. The most interesting occur in March and in November and December, where March for extraparochial and the latter two months for local marriages appear very popular.

These patterns are relatively stable through time. For endogamous marriages May consistently remains the most popular month, though it decreases somewhat in importance during the period. December and June are regularly above average. The summer and autumn months have lower than average frequencies and March is consistently low. Extraparochial marriages exhibit more variation. Monthly distributions are more even with fewer extremes. May and June are popular, so too is February,until 1780, after which it declines. January and November both have regular numbers of marriage above average, but December is less popular. Occasional high levels also occur in April, July and October. March is uniformly more popular for extraparochial marriages than local ones, but the incidence is below average, as it is through the summer months.

The customary dominance of May and June is evident in both series, implying a traditional springtime focus for most marriages. Another month clearly of local importance is December. The choice of this month could relate to a Christmas holiday period, the family folklore of the month, or to the settling of obligations sown in the ripened harvest time : it may even reflect disguised mobility, an ever present problem with these data. It could also reflect the rhythmic easing of the farming year, allowing time for other more familiar considerations. If any or all of these factors applied however, it is surprising that no comparable peak emerges in the extraparochial record.

In the exogamous record no clear relationship emerges which suggests that mobility was easier at some times than others. It is clear that both

the springtime and the winter months were popular for extraparochial marriages. The former was clearly a time when roads were drier and easier to traverse, the latter must have been the reverse. These peaks might reflect the times when it was easier for those working away from home to return, but as many grooms might have been employed in the parishes in which they married this may contribute to the evenness of the record and its similarity with the endogamous pattern.

These trends must also be seen in the context of ecclesiastical discouragement and here the role of marriage authorisation plays a part. Most extraparochial marriages were authorised by licence and these show a clear bunching before and after prohibited periods, most noticeably preceding the Lenten period. This feature may play an important part in shaping these seasonal trends. To illustrate this point Table 7.12 presents the seasonality index for fifteen of the seventeen parishes previously discussed - Wem and Church Stretton are excluded as no authorisation data was collected from their registers.

The aggregate trends are very similar to those discussed earlier and are not therefore reiterated. As before, when the series are divided between endogamous and exogamous marriages monthly frequencies show a comparable distribution (r_s=0.5594 S 0.05 =0.506). In this sample, 64.8 percent of all exogamous marriages are contracted by licence compared with 16.1 percent for endogamous associations. Consequently, the contrasts (at a monthly level) and overall comparability between local and non-local marriages are reflected in the split by methods of authorisation.

Thus significant correlations emerge between the patterns of seasonality of extraparochial and licenced marriages (r_s=0.8881 S 0.01), between all banns and all licenced marriages (r_s=0.7290 S 0.01), between endogamous banns and licenced marriages (r_s=0.6363 S 0.05)and between the exogamous banns and licenced marriages (r_s=0.8461 S 0.01). These statistical similarities emphasise that few differences exist between the different

disaggregations. However, differences do exist between local and non-local banns (rs=0.3055 NS) and local and non-local licenced authorised marriages (rs=0.4458 NS), which suggest that it is mobility together with authorisation that determines the contrasting emphasis in the seasonal patterns. In aggregate, no statistical difference can be established between the monthly distributions of local and non-local marriages.

The seasonality of licence marriages appears to have been produced by the operation of two interrelated elements. In both endogamous and exogamous series, licence authorisation is most frequently used in the months preceding or succeeding a period of ecclesiastical discouragement, though they are also high in the more favoured springtime months as well. As this is the case in both records, the lower levels of banns marriages leaves more available time for exogamous marriages. Thus the impact of constraints influences the monthly demand and consequently the mix between the two series in any given month. This is supported by the contrasts which exist between the seasonality of local and non-local marriages, when the series are divided between different authorisation procedures.

One final issue needs some consideration before leaving the problem of seasonality and that is its relationship to marriage distances. Though differences do exist between local and non-local marriages these are slight, but it may well be that clearer contrasts are evident when marriage distances are considered. Table 7.13 presents the descriptive statistics of the marriage distance curve for each month for all seventeen parishes. When the twelve distance-decay profiles are compared using Kolmogorov Smirnov tests no differences that are statistically significant can be identified between them. Given the highly comparable median values this is not surprising, but the Table does reveal a number of features worthy of comment.

When the mean values are considered together with the proportions of marriages involving associations over 30 km. a number of interesting points

emerge. September and February are clearly the months when the greatest average distances were involved, but for rather different reasons. September is the least popular month for extraparochial marriage which could indicate that it was a month chosen by those less swayed by custom or circumstance. This is in part confirmed by the high proportion of spouses whose parish of origin lies beyond 30 km. Such longer marriage distances are associated with the higher social classes which may in part explain this peak. February, in contrast, is a relatively popular month and has a considerably lower proportion of the longer distance moves. This suggests that its marriage distance may well reflect the choice of this month by persons from the lower social classes, who found this time of year most appropriate to solemnise extraparochial alliances and beat the onset of Lent.

Marriage distances appear to decline from March through to June, are more varied in July, and at their lowest in August. This is partly matched by low proportions from more distant places, though April and July both have reasonable numbers from further afield. These contrasts, while not statistically significant, do illustrate an interesting regularity which suggests a loose relationship between distance and seasonality worth exploring in other settings.

In general terms, longer distances are associated with autumn (20.3), and winter months (19.0) with a general reduction in distance during the spring (15.4) and summer (13.2) months. This ties in with November, January and February high index values and indicates that the other peaks in the extraparochial record in April, May and June were made up of shorter distance linkage.

This section has attempted to examine the periodicities of marriage over the course of a yearly span. It has illustrated that in these seventeen sample parishes certain regularities appear to recur in the choice of month in which couples marry. It is clear that the seasonality of

marriage is partly controlled by the periods of ecclesiastical discouragement and that common patterns exist in both the endogamous and exogamous series reflecting this force. No statistical difference is evident in the monthly patterns for these two forms of marriage, those differences which do occur are those of emphasis rather than order. This suggests that mobility may have influenced seasonality, but in this sample at least, not in a major manner. There is limited evidence to suggest that contrasts in both banns and licence marriages do occur between the two types of marriage, but not enough clear supportive evidence to argue for positive contrasts. There is also some evidence to suggest that licence authorisation may have been used to overcome the periods of ecclesiastical discouragement. Marriage distances appear to show some variation on a monthly basis but monthly distance-decay profiles do not differ significantly.

In conclusion it appears that while it is true to argue that seasonal variations did exist in the choice of month in which marriages were solemnised, there is little unequivocal support for the view that these patterns of seasonality showed marked variations between local marriages and those involving extraparochial partners. There is some evidence to suggest that mobility modified the pattern, but it is slight. These findings can now be integrated with those presented earlier to provide a summary of the social context surrounding the marital decision.

Towards a synthesis:

This chapter has sought to provide a social context for the temporal and spatial regularities presented earlier. The evidence that it has presented is illustrative rather than comprehensive. This perhaps is its major weakness, but one that cannot be overcome given the inadequacies of the source material. These data do however contribute to the argument on two counts. Firstly, they broaden descriptive understanding of the marriage record, and, secondly, they indicate some of the forces which may control and explain some of the regularities apparent in the data.

Without wishing to restate fully all the conclusions presented earlier, in a descriptive sense, these data create a social context for the pattern. The majority of marriages are seen to be between men in their late twenties marrying brides rather younger, with only a few second and third marriages incorporated in the record. The likelihood of remarriages occurring varies considerably between parishes, but is fairly constant through time. When they do occur most widows and widowers choose bachelors and spinsters for partners, are probably able to sign the register and are more likely to have come from further afield than partners involved in first marriages.

The majority of first marriages are contracted between partners claiming settlement in a common parish with less than 30 percent of such unions involving an extraparochial partner. Local marriages are primarily authorised by banns, indeed such authorisation is the majority form. The choice of licence authorisation was one made only by the minority, usually in higher social groups, and in the majority of cases was used when extra-parochial alliances were contracted. The higher was social status, the more likely was the choice of an extraparochial partner, and the further was the distance between couples' parishes of settlement. Individuals choosing outside the parish were more likely to be able to sign the register, and an increasing proportion of these did so as the eighteenth century progressed, in marked contrast to those who married locally. Large numbers of couples whether marrying local or non-local spouses chose spring-time to celebrate their wedding. Most local couples avoided the Lenten period and only a few non-local, licence-authorised pairs chose this discouraged time. December and November were also popular months, though few married during the high summer. Thus a general picture is created to make more substantial the patterns of endogamy and exogamy discussed earlier.

From an explanatory point of view these data suggest that the likelihood of endogamy or exogamy was closely controlled by occupation and hence

by status and class. They also suggest that these same forces controlled the dimensions of the marriage selection procedure in a geographical sense, determining how far distance operated as a constraint. Associated with this occupational variable were educational contrasts, if signatures are any guide, that further influenced the area from which partners were selected. These insights are only partial. They explain the potential form of marriage fields and indicate that they interlock in a set of nested social spaces of increasing range and dimensions, but they do not indicate how such marriage fields are to be explained or interpreted in terms of mobility.

For these data to be anything more than a description of marriage linkages during the eighteenth century, in which the direction of movement remains unspecified, and the marriage territory is simply used to describe a community mean information field, an explanation linking the patterns to age specific migration paths needs to be proposed. It is towards such an explanation of these patterns that the discussion now moves.

Chapter 8 Marriage and mobility : the interpretation of marriage linkages

I : The problem

In the discussion presented so far, a detailed analysis has been undertaken of the record of extraparochial marriage. This has allowed such marriages to be seen in the context of all marriages which occurred in parishes of varied location and of differing demographic rank. It has also provided a complete documentation of the form of marriage fields or horizons. Their dimensions, orientation and changing character have been noted : contrasts between places of differing rank have been identified and the nature of spatial associations contained within the pattern of extraparochial contact discussed.

A limited amount of additional material recorded in the registers has also been drawn upon to humanise these regularities. Each of these analyses has gone some way towards explaining the order in the marriage record and in so doing a number of interesting conclusions have emerged to account for certain similarities and differences. These conclusions only indirectly relate the marriage record to patterns of mobility and potential migration paths and a more focussed commitment to this topic is necessary if the marriage record is to be interpreted in such terms.

Any explanation which attempts to link the data contained in the marriage registers to actual movement paths is fraught with difficulty. This, as was noted in Chapter One, has long been recognised. The solution has simply been to accept the record as a documentation of spatial associations, describing in general terms possible movement fields. This strategy has been adopted by the study up to this point in the discussion.

Two major problem areas which make any direct linkage difficult can be identified. These relate firstly to the accuracy of the material recorded in the registers and secondly to their interpretation. Both

restrict the use of these data as absolute or accurate measures of all mobility occurring within late eighteenth century society. Some further comment is necessary on these issues.

On the first issue of accuracy, the increasing numbers of detailed parish studies employing family reconstitution and using extant population listings are revealing considerable turnover in parish populations (Laslett 1963, Holderness 1970, Schofield 1971, Oosterveen 1974, Levine 1977, Wrigley 1977, Martin 1978). In such circumstances, it is questionable whether entries in the marriage register can provide any absolute measure of the stability or instability of village populations. Thus comments on the proportions of partners marrying extraparochial spouses are highly age-specific, partial in coverage of the total population and probably relate to a fluid base population, whose membership could change for various reasons by as much as 60 percent in twelve years if Laslett's (1963) evidence is typical. The proportions are of interest, but they have to be seen in context and only indirectly add much to the understanding of the underlying mobility of the population.

A second point under this heading relates to the completeness and accuracy of the parish of origin information in the registers. This has already been discussed (p. 41), but needs to be re-iterated here, simply because parish populations were so mobile. Individuals employed in a parish in service or labouring work may have gained, at least for the purpose of marriage, settlement rights which made an accurate declaration of their original parish of origin unnecessary. Movement between parishes for employment by the unmarried was common and may well further restrict the accuracy of these data (Schofield 1971a).

On the interpretative side there are comparable problems. The attraction of the marriage data for scholars has been the locational information they provide. Marriage, however, is a non-migratory act and is strongly governed by customary behaviour, and these factors make interpretation

difficult. When an extraparochial partner is recorded it is not clear whether he or she intends to reside in the parish of solemnisation, return to his or her parish or to some completely unspecified third location. The act of solemnisation and the details the registers provide therefore allow no direct interpretation of subsequent settlement. Nor does the record provide any clearer picture of how the couple came to meet in the first place. Both partners to matrimony may have worked outside the parish of solemnisation, met at this third location, and returned, as was customary, to marry in the bride's parish. Alternatively, either bride or groom could have come to work in their respective partner's parish providing two further possibilities for the pattern of pre-marital mobility preceding the solemnisation of the event. Whichever of these two moves actually occurred, the bride would probably marry in her home parish according to custom and thus disguise any directionality in the record. Marriage records therefore provide little insight in a readily apparent manner into the patterns of pre-marital mobility.

It is for these reasons that scholars have naturally been very wary of directly relating these data to migration and mobility. They have chosen instead simply to use the evidence as a documentation of a community's marriage horizon with no directionality attributed to the record, because of the doubts which surround its accuracy and interpretation. (These doubts went unrecognised by Perry (1969) and therefore limit the value of his findings on rural isolation in Dorset in the nineteenth century). With such clear difficulties attached to this material it may seem foolhardy to propose a way round these problems and to link the marriage record directly to mobility. Queries over the accuracy of the data, its age specificity, its completeness as a record of mobility in any given community and over its possibly incomplete and inaccurate representation of origins cannot be overcome. They must simply be accepted and no attempt is made here to challenge them. However, on the interpretative

issue, it does seem possible that the marriage record can be more precisely related to mobility and to migration paths in pre-industrial society, than hitherto recognised. This chapter explores such a possibility.

II : Marriage and pre-marital mobility : towards a general model

In any demographically differentiated set of parishes the course of vital events inevitably produces an imbalance in terms of population and employment opportunities. As all persons cannot find employment within the parish, and only limited levels of vagrancy would be tolerated, mobility results, forced by necessity. This is well testified by the examination of the Cardington listing, and is the basis of the assumption that high levels of pre-marital mobility were characteristic in the pre-industrial period. (Schofield 1971a)

Search for employment outside the parish would reflect locational constraints of proximity, thus adjacent parishes are seen as possible employment destinations particularly places nearer rather than farther away. Skill constraints would also direct people to other parishes where their particular skill, or lack of one, might provide them with gainful employment. This would create a pattern of flows between parishes of comparable occupational structure as well as encouraging people to seek work in the nearby growth areas. The perception of alternatives forms a further constraint. Opportunities might be identified in nearby towns or in the rapidly industrialising centres or in rural parishes. Other factors no doubt would also direct search patterns, but these three accommodate the main influences.

The relative importance of these influences would vary between the sexes, individuals and occupational categories, but for many people they would apply in some form. The need to find employment in this period preceded the decision to marry and therefore the search for it must have

provided a level of mobility which underlaid the subsequent marriage pattern. It is this search pattern which provides scope for fresh insights into the marriage record and is the basis for proposing a more positive interpretative structure. A young man or woman might be employed in a variety of places (farms or towns) in the years preceding marriage : might return home regularly or infrequently and only eventually when the person, the situation and the circumstances proved right, decide to marry. At this point most women, it is contended, preferred to solemnise the event in their home parish, while the men accepted this convention as customary. Thus the extraparochial record exhibits a clear sex-specific bias dominated by the entries of grooms.

Such a simple interpretation poses problems for it might suggest that the marriage record solely documents the mobility of women. According to Ravenstein (1885, 1889) females were more migratory than males, a point confirmed by Hollingsworth (1971) and more recently by Grigg (1977 p. 49), but it seems unlikely that the record of extraparochial grooms simply monitors the pre-marital employment mobility of their brides. Not all women were forced from their parish to seek work. If the local economy were buoyant, no doubt outsiders came there for work, may have met and married local girls and are recorded in the registers as extraparochial. Some women would remain at home and eventually marry grooms from adjacent parishes as the records frequently testify. Others might travel far afield to a distant parish or a town, meet there a man who had made a similar quest for employment from his home parish, and this intervening employment destination would be unspecified in the marriage register of her parish once they wed. No model can account for such unpredictable behaviour and the comments which follow relate primarily to the first two cases, where either men or women move between the specified parish of origin and that of solemnisation.

If the marriage record is embedded in an environment where employment and the search for it is a precondition of the pattern, questions then have to be posed as to where employment prospects are going to be available. These are clearly going to vary in a very local way, but generally they will be distributed in accordance with the demographic rank (population size) of a parish. A man or woman faced with the need for employment will appraise the alternatives from a base-line of the parish he or she is resident in. Initially, they will look to adjacent parishes, some possibly smaller than theirown, but near; subsequently, they would probably see parishes larger than their own presenting more opportunities. If this holds in the majority of cases for both men and women seeking employment prior to marriage then a framework is provided for disentangling the interpretation of the marriage record.

If it can be accepted that it is the natural response in the search for employment for the majority of individuals to look up, rather than down, the settlement hierarchy for employment, then women from smaller places would tend to seek work in larger parishes and the same would be true for men (Ravenstein 1885, 1889). It would be unusual however if this rule applied in all cases, for opportunities are perceived in different ways by different people, and no doubt some lateral or downward movement would occur. Most people's behaviour is sub-optimal, as much contemporary work illustrates, and does not fit such a simplified or rational model. Nonetheless, even allowing for behavioural variations in optimality, research shows that in many activities such regularities do emerge, although Grigg (1977 p. 47) has pointed to the difficulties of validating 'stepwise' or hierarchical migration in a historical context.

Applying this notion to the marriage record would suggest that in those registers recording themarriage of extraparochial grooms from parishes of larger demographic size or rank it was the bride who moved to

their parish for work, subsequently returning home to solemnise the marriage and then possibly leaving for her husband's parish to set up house. Where the linkages record grooms from smaller parishes these, by the reverse of the argument, would describe the movement of men in search of employment, who, once married, would acquire settlement in their parish of solemnisation.

When extraparochial brides are involved the issue becomes rather different and the frame of reference presented above may be considered less appropriate. Such women have chosen to break with customary practice for reasons that are not easily identified. Fashion, whim, the unsuitability of the local church or simply proximity may account for those who choose to marry in adjacent parishes, and many such liaisons occur. Alternatively, local ostracisation, because of pre-marital pregnancy or an unfavoured alliance, may have led to the selection of a different parish. In any of these circumstances, motives are impossible to disentangle. Another possibility is presented by the girl in service some distance from her home parish, who may have decided, for lack of family and ease, to marry where she worked. This may well apply to all extraparochial brides where their parish of origin was not directly adjacent to that of solemnisation.

These marriages therefore would specifically reflect pre-marital employment mobility in which the direction of the movement is clear, though little is known of possible intervening employment locations. To extend this argument, it also seems likely that many of these marriages involved women from the lower social groups for whom employment was more critical than family ties, either because they possessed none of the latter, or because their peers might be equally scattered in comparable employments. Such matches constitute a minority of all marriages and no doubt arose from a host of individual reasons, none of which are obvious, and on which it is impractical to speculate. The marriages of extraparochial

brides therefore, while they may reflect comparable forces to those proposed for grooms, are so few in number, localised in occurrence in these data, and the product of such an amalgam of possible reasons that they are of secondary interest to the propositions now being developed. Instead, attention is specifically focussed on the records of extraparochial grooms, which form the majority of entries.

Central to the argument which is being advanced is that the marriage pattern be reinterpreted by explaining it in terms of the factors which ordered the employment pattern. These may be assumed to be isomorphic with the settlement hierarchy, such that the larger a centre in demographic and functional terms the greater the available employment opportunities in that centre both for local residents and to attract non-local people there in search of work. In such circumstances, it might be expected that men and women would search for work prior to marriage, initially nearer home and subsequently further afield. This wider search should in theory be rational and be ordered according to the distribution of opportunities within the settlement system, and its structure would depend on the relative status of the parish of origin of the individual. If this is so then the marriage record should exhibit a structured pattern of linkage to places of differing demographic rank.

This simple assertion is complicated however by the fact noted earlier that an entry of an extraparochial groom does not necessarily indicate whether it was the bride returning home to marry from his parish, where she had been employed, or whether he came to work in her parish and subsequently married there. Using the argument presented above that individuals are likely to look to larger places for employment, it is however possible to identify three rather different types of movement.

Table 8.1 presents a model of marriage linkages for a closed system incorporating five ranks of centre. The columns record the grade of centre from which extraparochial grooms come to marry in the host parish and are

Table 8.1 A model of marriage linkages : Sex specific mobility inferred from the entries of extraparochial grooms

		Destinations					
		I	II	III	IV	V	
	I	X	a_1	a_2	a_3	a_4	
	II	b_1	X	a_5	a_6	a_7	Higher to Lower
Origins	III	b_2	b_5	X	a_8	a_9	
Lower to Higher	IV	b_3	b_6	b_8	X	a_{10}	
	V	b_4	b_7	b_9	b_{10}	X	

Columns I-V represent ranked groupings of parishes
Rows I-V represent ranked groupings of parishes

X = lateral linkages between parishes of equal rank - can be moves of either men or women.

a_1-a_{10} = entries of grooms from parishes of higher rank than the parish of solemnisation - assumed to be the product of mobility by the woman prior to marriage.

b_1-b_{10} = entries of grooms from parishes of lower rank than the parish of solemnisation - assumed to be the product of mobility by men prior to marriage.

constructed directly from the marriage register. Under the remits of the model, entries fall into three categories. Entries above the principal diagonal (PD) record marriages where the groom comes from a parish of higher rank than that of solemnisation. As it is unlikely that he would seek work in a smaller centre than his own place of residence, these marriages are inferred to reflect the pre-marital mobility of women, who move out and up the system in search of work and return to marry at home as was customary. These form the first category.

The second category is made up from the entries below the principal diagonal. Such marriages probably reflect the search for employment by men up the settlement system, who find a job and a marriage partner in the host parish and marry there. To a lesser extent, given customary practice, these linkages could also monitor women taking work in smaller places than their place of settlement and returning home with their groom to marry, but while this possibility is recognised it cannot be accommodated within the structure of the model. These entries are seen to represent male pre-marital movement.

A final category of marriage linkage is represented by entries on the principal diagonal. These could be created in two ways, as they record marriage associations between equally ranked parishes. They might represent either the movement by men or women prior to marriage. As they cannot be attributed solely to either sex, they remain an unknown quantity under the assumptions of the model, and therefore cannot be interpreted.

If this simple categorisation is appropriate, then such a tabulation allows sex-specific mobility to be identified from the marriage entries of extraparochial grooms in any marriage register, providing origins and destinations can be accurately ranked and the logical search process for employment be accepted. It should also be noted that the model depends on the strength of customary marriage practice, with the bride solemnising her marriage in her home parish. This seems justified from the emphasis in

the marriage records examined for Shropshire and it constitutes a critical element in the formulation.

If an ordered pattern of pre-marital employment mobility is embedded in the marriage record as implied by the model, then various tests can be run on data tabulated in this form, to explore this aspect of mobility. If employment search by men and women did depend on the rank of their parish of birth/settlement, then differently ranked parishes would produce different patterns of association with places of lower or higher rank. This can be tested from these marriage data, by comparing the pattern of marriage linkage in each column.

Tests can also be run to establish whether the movements inferred to be those of men and women in search of employment, frozen in the marriage record by the act of customary solemnisation, exhibit any differences. This can be achieved by examining marriage linkages in a closed system of parishes and establishing whether the magnitude or distribution of linkage with other specified parishes differs between the sexes. If the opportunities are viewed in a comparable manner by both sexes then no significant differences should exist for matched flows on either side of the principal diagonal. Some differences could however emerge as a result of contrasting employment needs between men and women. These can be explored by retabulating the marriage records in a model of this form. These tests do little to confirm the appropriateness of the model as the correct interpretation of the marriage record. The model can only be judged by its internal logic and any secondary evidence to support its assumptions, but indirectly the tests can provide a basis for critical evaluation.

Such a model is beset by difficulties once actual data are fitted to it and these need some specification. In the first place, it is extremely difficult to 'close' the system and accurately identify all marriage exchanges within it. Such closure requires the omission of certain linkages

which may be critical to the overall performance of the system, for no analysis could encompass all places on the national map which would be the extent of the research area required. Arbitrary closure can be more easily achieved by dealing only with flows between a large block of contiguous parishes, as for example in the case of the five hundreds and boroughs examined throughout this thesis, but this excludes many linkages to nearby places which are simply over an administrative boundary. It is possible with the data included in this study to test the model in these terms, but such a test must be recognised as possessing limitations.

An alternative, and one also used here, is to relax the assumption of a closed system and treat the information in tabular, rather than strict matrix form. This has been done by examining in each data set the recorded pattern of linkage within the county boundaries for both of the sample populations. With such data, the columnar information documents the rank of centre from which grooms came to the sample parishes but the row information derives from a larger, countywide, population; the record as a whole therefore represents a sample of all possible exchanges within the county boundary. Nonetheless, such a tabular analysis is revealing and worth undertaking.

A second problem arises from the need to order origins and destinations into ranked categories which accurately reflect the structure of the settlement hierarchy. This is particularly pertinent for these years of the eighteenth century when no accurate or universal source of either population or employment information is available from which to rank places. It is questionable whether in a rural environment clear distinctions were, or are, drawn between places and whether any actual clearly recognised stratification existed. The choice of boundaries between ranks can also influence the pattern imposed on the data in a manner which might be considered inappropriate.

In the subsequent analysis, the original groupings used in the earlier chapters have been employed (these were broad demographic groupings arranged in sequence), and, as argued earlier, they probably also reflect some socio-economic distinctions. The use of the 1811 population data to rank parishes is at best a crude surrogate, but it does allow the model to be tested, and gives a relative, if not absolute, measure of the standing of parishes. Work on nineteenth century marriage data, where more detail is available for ranking parishes, would considerably refine the accuracy of calibrating and testing the model; while beyond the scope of this study, such enquiry would be worthwhile.

Thirdly, the impact of spatial structure and the relative location of parishes of a particular rank can affect the entries in the table. The spatial mix and distribution of opportunities could affect a parish's relative proximity to places of varying size and this might bias choice, preventing any hierarchical order emerging. This is particularly critical when marriage horizons are of such small scale and when adjacent parishes recur so frequently as a source for extraparochial partners. Linkages with adjacent places can be removed from the data sets, but when this is done, the incidence of events can drop considerably and lead to a situation where too little information is available for the pattern of contact to be reliable.

Given the important role played by the spatial structure in determining the likely availability of centres, it seems inappropriate to consider mean marriage distances to places of different rank in this tabular form. However, the literature of social physics would suggest that a comparable order might emerge if such an analysis were undertaken, with individuals travelling longer mean distances to the larger places as in the classic gravity model formulations (Zipf 1947, Carruthers 1950, Olsson 1965, Haggett 1977). This has not been attempted with these data but would be a further refinement of model.

The final problem facing the model structure rests on its presumption of co-ordinated upward search for employment opportunities. Many lateral or reverse movements might occur within a rural employment system, with women and men finding work on nearby farms in smaller parishes than their own. This problem is acknowledged, and discussion of its relevance is left until the end of the chapter when data have been examined of the actual pattern of movement between places of different rank.

With these problems specified, the data discussed in the earlier chapters are reconsidered in these terms to evaluate the appropriateness of this model of employment search in directing mobility and determining the pattern of entries in the marriage registers of the sample parishes.

III : An interpretation of the entries of extraparochial grooms : an application of the proposed model

The marriage linkages recorded in the two samples provide six possible tabulations from which to assess the appropriateness of the model. Three basic tabulations were undertaken. In each, the parishes of origin providing grooms were ranked on the basis of their populations in 1811. Then for a parish of a given rank, the numbers of grooms from all other ranked parishes were recorded, and substituted into tables comparable to Table 8.1. The rankings used were those that have been employed throughout the thesis and while crude they give an overall impression of the structure of contact. Two of the three tabulations were constructed from the records of the sixty parishes in the hundreds and boroughs sample. The first of these constituted a 'closed system' pattern, where only linkages between the member parishes were considered. The second was based on the same set of parishes but included all linkages to other parishes within Shropshire - it represents a partial interaction matrix. The third tabulation was one comparable to the second but based on the patterns of linkages recorded in the rural sample. These formed the basic tabulations,

they include all linkages and no adjustment is made for the effects of proximity with nearby parishes. A further three tables were subsequently constructed from each of the basic tables which removed adjacent parishes from the rankings, providing a total of six tabulations for consideration.

Tables 8.2 and 8.3 present these tabulations alongside tables showing the proportions of grooms coming from parishes of other ranks. Certain interesting patterns are evident from these tables in simple proportional terms, which suggest an elementary structure within the data. Comparison of the two tables reveals the importance of the contact with adjacent parishes in both samples. The removal of these from the data set considerably reduces the numbers in particular ranked categories, but this modification seems justified given the important impact of the spatial structure on alternatives.

The pattern of proportional flow from places of different rank into and out of each set of ranked parishes shows, as might be expected, a graded order through the settlement system. Thus more men enter the urban parishes and those in Groups I-III, than women leave them, while the reverse is the case in the smaller parishes in Groups IV and V. All ranked parishes show a certain level of linkage with all other places, but no immediately obvious progression is evident down the system. The proportion of contact level for level on either side of the principal diagonal shows both similarities and contrasts. Some gradation in proportions is evident for both men and women, but this shows no universal sequential progression in either set of tabulations. Any real order in these data can only be identified by testing these tables.

Two separate approaches are taken to these tabulations:

1. The overall structure of contact with other parishes has been examined for each rank of parish. In theory, because each rank of parish is perceived differently by the population and has a specified location in the settlement hierarchy, then the overall level of linkage with other

Table 8.2 Marital linkages for extraparochial grooms by parish rank. All marriages

Hundreds and Boroughs Regional Sample

I : Closed system model (Based on flows between 60 constituent parishes)

		Destinations							Proportions (%)-*					
		Urban	I	II	III	IV	V	T	Urban	I	II	III	IV	V
O	Urban	32	11	14	34	44	13	148	19.1	7.5	11.2	10.1	18.3	4.3
r	I	22	22	19	25	24	26	138	13.1	15.1	15.2	7.5	10.0	8.6
i	II	6	37	23	26	30	25	147	3.6	25.4	18.4	7.7	12.5	8.2
g	III	27	39	16	64	61	80	287	16.1	26.7	12.8	19.1	25.4	26.3
i	IV	58	12	33	73	38	63	277	34.5	8.2	26.4	21.7	15.8	20.7
n	V	23	25	20	114	43	97	322	13.7	17.1	16.0	33.9	17.9	31.9
s	T	168	146	125	336	240	304	1319	100.0					100.0

* Subject to rounding errors

II : Open system model (Based on flows into 60 parishes from all other parishes within the county)

		Destinations							Proportions (%)					
		Urban	I	II	III	IV	V	T	Urban	I	II	III	IV	V
O	Urban	87	68	50	76	61	43	385	28.8	23.8	23.6	15.7	18.8	10.4
r	I	23	23	20	27	25	28	146	7.6	8.0	9.4	5.6	7.7	6.7
i	II	32	74	48	49	47	44	294	10.6	25.9	22.6	10.1	14.5	10.6
g	III	33	51	19	69	68	89	329	10.9	17.8	9.0	14.3	21.0	21.4
i	IV	77	28	46	106	65	87	409	25.5	9.8	21.7	21.9	20.1	20.9
n	V	50	42	29	156	58	124	459	16.6	14.7	13.6	32.3	17.9	29.8
s	T	302	286	212	483	324	415	2022	100.0					100.0

Rural parish sample

III : Open system model (Based on flows into 23 parishes from all other parishes within the county)

		Destinations							Proportions (%)					
		Urban	I	II	III	IV	V	T	Urban	I	II	III	IV	V
O	Urban	-	88	20	18	34	19	179	-	27.0	13.1	11.6	19.1	10.2
r	I	-	29	6	13	9	15	72	-	8.9	4.0	8.4	5.1	8.0
i	II	-	64	21	33	19	32	169	-	19.6	13.8	21.4	10.7	17.1
g	III	-	53	28	24	32	46	183	-	16.3	18.4	15.6	18.0	24.6
i	IV	-	38	39	28	57	45	207	-	11.7	25.7	18.2	32.0	24.1
n	V	-	54	38	38	27	30	187	-	16.6	25.0	24.7	15.2	16.0
s	T	-	326	152	154	178	187	997	-	100.0				100.0

Notes : Rankings based on populations in 1811 census.

Urban parishes + 4000 popl.
I 2-4000 popl.
II 1-2000 popl.
III 600-1000 popl.
IV 300-600 popl.
V less than 300 popl.

Source Mss and transcribed registers of sample Shropshire parishes (SRO)

Table 8.3 Marriage linkages for extraparochial grooms by parish rank. Adjusted data minus linkages to adjacent parishes.

Hundreds and Boroughs Regional Sample

I : Closed system model (Based on flows between 60 constituent parishes)

	Destinations							Proportions (%)*					
	Urban	I	II	III	IV	V	T	Urban	I	II	III	IV	V
Urban	0	11	14	21	20	6	72	0.0	15.1	33.3	11.7	18.3	5.6
I	22	4	4	23	5	8	66	22.7	5.5	9.5	12.8	4.6	7.5
II	6	10	1	14	21	5	57	6.2	13.7	2.4	7.8	19.3	4.7
III	14	23	6	27	34	20	124	14.4	31.5	14.3	15.1	31.2	18.7
IV	38	9	14	42	7	34	144	39.2	12.3	33.3	23.5	6.4	31.8
V	17	16	3	52	22	34	144	17.5	21.9	7.1	29.1	20.2	31.8
T	97	73	42	179	109	107	607	100.0					100.0

II : Open system model (Based on flows into the 60 parishes from all other parishes within the county)

	Destinations							Proportions (%)*					
	Urban	I	II	III	IV	V	T	Urban	I	II	III	IV	V
Urban	40	68	33	57	37	36	271	20.6	35.2	30.6	19.4	20.6	17.9
I	23	5	5	25	6	10	74	11.9	2.3	4.6	8.5	3.3	5.0
II	25	33	19	37	31	22	167	12.9	17.1	17.6	12.6	17.2	10.9
III	20	35	9	32	41	29	166	10.3	18.1	8.3	10.9	22.8	14.4
IV	55	25	27	68	30	52	257	28.3	13.0	25.0	23.1	16.7	25.9
V	31	27	15	75	35	52	235	16.0	14.0	13.9	25.5	19.4	25.9
T	194	193	108	294	180	201	1170	100.0					100.0

Rural parish sample

III : Open system model (Based on flows into 23 parishes from all other parishes within the county)

	Destinations							Proportions (%)*					
	Urban	I	II	III	IV	V	T	Urban	I	II	III	IV	V
Urban	-	88	20	18	26	10	162	-	44.2	25.3	22.0	31.7	11.9
I	-	7	6	13	9	8	43	-	3.5	7.6	15.9	11.0	9.5
II	-	16	12	17	11	4	60	-	8.0	15.2	19.5	13.4	4.8
III	-	29	10	7	16	22	84	-	14.6	12.7	7.3	19.5	26.2
IV	-	32	11	12	9	25	89	-	16.1	13.9	14.6	11.0	30.0
V	-	27	20	17	11	15	90	-	13.6	25.3	20.7	13.4	17.9
T	-	199	79	84	82	84	528	-	100.0				100.0

Notes Rankings based on populations in the 1811 census

Urban parishes + 4000 popl.
I 2-4000 popl.
II 1-2000 popl.
III 600-1000 popl.
IV 300-600 popl.
V less 300 popl.

* Percentages subject to rounding error

Source : Mss and transcribed registers of Shropshire parishes (SRO)

places should, if places are graded in this way in the minds of the population, differ significantly between places of different rank.

2. An attempt has also been made to disentangle the order of flows within each of these tables above and below the principal diagonal, to establish the appropriateness of the employment search and the sex-specific division the model implies. Three different analyses were undertaken:

(i) The level of linkage up the system to all grades of parish were compared for the presumed movements of both men and women to identify any sex-specific contrasts in the relative levels of movement.

(ii) The level of movement to places of greater rank by both men and women has also been assessed throughout the tables to establish any sex-specific contrasts in aggregate levels of pre-marital mobility.

(iii) Consideration has been given to the structure of the overall pattern of contact by men and women up the system to establish whether differences exist between the sexes in their appraisals of the hierarchy of opportunity.

On each occasion these analyses have been run for the total pattern of marriage linkages and for the adjusted data, with the adjacent parishes removed from the tables. The results presented below are reasonably instructive. In the discussion which follows, the entries below the principal diagonal are referred to as those reflecting the movement of men and above it those of women.

The results

1. The overall structure of marital contact with centres of different rank in each grade of parish

As an initial check on the distinctiveness or otherwise of the patterns of association with places of different rank in each column of the tabulated data, comparisons were made between each ranked profile and those of all other places. Table 8.4 documents the results of these assessments and

Table 8.4 Comparisons of the origins of grooms in each parish grouping : chi-square values
H_o No significant difference in the distributions of origins

* 0.05 ** 0.01 ***0.001 df 5

Hundreds and boroughs sample

I : Closed system model

	Unadjusted data					Adjusted data				
Urban	I	II	III	IV	Urban	I	II	III	IV	
I	63.87***					42.02***				
II	21.27***	22.32***				38.35***	20.83***			
III	38.20***	54.23***	28.58***			24.06***	16.16**	19.69**		
IV	29.59***	22.17***	17.58***	29.62***		68.90***	2.94	32.37***	36.08***	
V	57.70***	44.08***	35.40***	11.73*	39.99***	19.12**	19.98**	25.55***	7.88	42.00***

II : Open system model

Urban	I	II	III	IV	Urban	I	II	III	IV
I	45.99***					35.55***			
II	15.27**	19.31**				8.56	11.69*		
III	36.69***	73.97***	47.19***			7.62	37.81***	12.79*	
IV	20.48**	23.92***	19.62**	26.16***		25.06***	10.83	14.76*	20.59***	
V	58.71***	73.59***	59.54***	12.42*	22.45***	12.45*	20.48**	14.18*	4.10	12.70*

Rural Sample

III : Open system model

Urban	I	II	III	IV	Urban	I	II	III	IV
I	-					-				
II	-	30.96***				-	21.61***			
III	-	19.67**	7.45			-	31.30***	2.28		
IV	-	36.50***	7.83	20.69***		-	11.58*	6.07	8.68	
V	-	32.26***	8.39	8.89	12.93*	-	33.38***	16.39**	23.97***	19.51*

Table 8.5 Comparisons between the profiles of entry in each set of parish rankings between the three models : Observed differences in Kolmogorov Smirnov two sample comparisons

	Model I to II		Model I to III		Model II to III	
	Unadjusted	Adjusted	Unadjusted	Adjusted	Unadjusted	Adjusted
Urban	0.1120	0.2060**	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
I	0.1630*	0.2038*	0.1950*	0.2913*	0.0410	0.1020
II	0.1240	0.0762	0.1390	0.1815	0.1590*	0.1140
III	0.0527	0.0806	0.1611*	0.2500*	0.1226	0.1690
IV	0.0426	0.0953	0.1335	0.1977	0.0809	0.1882*
V	0.I665	0.1602	0.1591*	0.1600	0.1400*	0.0850

* Significant 0.05 ** 0.01 Data for these comparisons contained in Tables 8.2 and 8.3.

they indicate that in the majority of cases significant differences do exist in the levels of contact with other parishes for places of different rank.

In the closed system model, only on two occasions, in comparing the contact profiles for parishes in rank III and V and those in rank I with IV in the adjusted data, can no difference be established at 0.05 or better. Clear differences are evident in all combinations in the unadjusted data, but as these incorporate linkages with adjacent parishes, they are of less significance than the adjusted record which shows major contrasts even when the neighbouring parishes are removed. It therefore seems that in the ideal closed system situation, where all flows are accommodated in a comprehensive exchange pattern, that clear differences in contact profile characterise the marriage records of different ranks of centre.

In the two open system models, as might be expected, the evidence is less clear cut. In these tables, by widening the area to the county boundary and incorporating all flows into two separate samples of parishes (the axes of the table are based on different populations) some disorder results. Nonetheless, the tabulated results still indicate in the unadjusted data for model II major differences between all ranks of parish and in model III differences between Group I parishes and all others. When adjacent parishes are removed from these tables in model II, the contrasts become less uniform, but still dominate. In the rural sample, with this adjustment, the pattern of differences becomes clearer. The largest parishes (I) have contact profiles different from all others, parishes in ranks II, III, and IV are similar, while those for the smallest parishes (V) are distinctive from all others. This threefold breakdown may reflect the difficulty of accurately or adequately categorising a few rural parishes into a fivefold ranking. It indicates that, in that sample at least, the divides used are not wholly appropriate and over-refine the

recognised hierarchy of rural places. Even so, distinctly contrasting profiles are again identified.

As a further check on the similarity between the rankings used in each table, the profiles of contact with places of contrasting size for each of the rankings were compared between the three models. Table 8.5 presents the results of the analysis. A few differences do exist between the samples, but the over-riding pattern is one of similarity in profile at each level in the hierarchy between the three data sets.

The evidence presented here does suggest that differences do exist between parishes of different rank in their patterns of contact with other places in the system. These differences in part reflect the relative location of parishes to other parishes, but contrasts remain even when an attempt is made to control the considerable input of adjacent parishes. Marriage ties with adjacent parishes account for 40 percent of marriages in many registers and could easily make distributions extremely distinctive. The contrasts remain even when such linkages are removed. It therefore seems reasonable to accept the proposition that the profiles of marriage linkage recorded in parishes of different rank are distinctive. This distinctiveness may well arise because of the position of a parish within the overall settlement hierarchy, which then influences the outflow of women from and the inflow of men to the parish, shaping the destinations the former seek for employment and the attraction a parish of that rank has for men from other smaller parishes as a place of work. The contrasts presented here do not prove such a case, but they indicate such an argument might be appropriate. This possibility can only be confirmed or refuted by examining the internal order within these tables.

2. Regularities within the model : an exploration of contrasts on either side of the principal diagonal in the search for sex-specific contrasts

(i) A basic presumption underpinning the suggested interpretative model is that all entries above the principal diagonal represent pre-marital employment search by women out from their own community, who sub-

sequently return home to marry, while those below the diagonal represent the inflow of men in search of employment who subsequently marry girls in their host parish. Various tests are possible on these data to evaluate such a proposition.

As noted earlier, the model presumes that both men and women relate to and perceive the hierarchy of employment opportunity in a comparable manner. This may be a misguided view, differences could exist between the sexes. One way to test whether such differences do exist is simply to compare the actual level of association with other centres from each rank of parish. For example, it could be asked whether the numbers of women in Group I parishes who marry grooms from urban centres match the numbers of grooms from Group I parishes who marry brides from urban centres. If no differences can be established then it would seem fair to assume that pre-marital mobility by either sex was comparable. If, on the other hand, differences do emerge, they may suggest certain sex-specific contrasts in patterns of mobility.

Table 8.6 illustrates the paired comparisons considered to test this proposition and presents the results of a chi-square analysis of the data. As in the previous analysis, model I represents the most controlled illustration and its results are of greatest interest. These indicate that only on one occasion in comparing the number of men from Group III parishes who marry in Group V, and men from Group V who marry women in Group III parishes, are statistically significant differences identified. This arises because considerably more men from Group V parishes sought work (?) in Group III parishes than did women (52 cf 20). On all other occasions in model I no difference of significance can be established in the matched patterns of flow.

In the other two tabulations rather more contrasts are evident, but only on a minority of occasions are any clear sex-specific contrasts identified. In model II, the contrasts noted in the urban column in both

Table 8.6 A comparison of the level of movement to matched cells within the tables of ranked linkages.

Model		Urban	I	II	III	IV	V
	Urban	-	a1	a2	a3	a4	a5
	I	b1	-	a6	a7	a8	a9
	II	b2	b6	-	a10	a11	a12
	III	b3	b7	b10	-	a13	a14
	IV	b4	b8	b11	b13	-	a15
	V	b5	b9	b12	b14	b15	-

Tables below test for significant differences between level of flows between matched cells on either side of the principal diagonal e.g. a1=b1, a2=b2, etc.

H_o No significant difference between men and women in the level of search to comparable ranks in the settlement system. Expected values represent half the observed values. Df I S 0.05=3.84* S 0.01=6.64**

Hundreds and Boroughs Regional Sample : Chi square values

I : Closed system model

Unadjusted data

	Urban	I	II	III	IV
I	1.89				
II	1.67	2.96			
III	0.40	1.54	1.21		
IV	0.96	2.06	0.07	0.53	
V	1.42	0.01	0.27	3.00	1.90

Adjusted data

	Urban	I	II	III	IV
I	1.89				
II	1.67	1.35			
III	0.70	0.00	1.66		
IV	2.86	0.58	0.71	0.42	
V	2.79	1.37	0.25	7.48**	1.85

II : Open system model

	Urban	I	II	III	IV
I	11.85**				
II	1.99	16.91**			
III	8.83**	3.78	6.96**		
IV	0.93	0.09	0.01	4.19*	
V	0.26	1.41	1.56	9.34**	2.93

	Urban	I	II	III	IV
I	11.85**				
II	0.55	11.94**			
III	10.38**	0.84	9.39**		
IV	1.78	6.43*	0.13	3.39	
V	0.18	4.12*	0.67	9.12**	1.68

Rural parish sample

III : Open system model

	Urban	I	II	III	IV
I	-				
II	-	29.01**			
III	-	13.35**	0.21		
IV	-	9.88**	3.56	0.13	
V	-	11.98**	0.25	0.38	2.29

	Urban	I	II	III	IV
I	-				
II	-	2.39			
III	-	3.16	0.92		
IV	-	7.00**	0.00	0.29	
V	-	5.57*	6.00*	0.32	2.83

Note Data on which this analysis is based are available in Tables 8.2 and 8.3.

tables arise from more women marrying men from urban centres in their more lowly ranked parishes, than men from those lower ranked parishes marrying brides in urban parishes. This suggests that the towns were more frequently places where girls sought work in service, than did men from rural parishes and is comparable with Schofield's (1971) finding for Cardington. A greater number of women moving to work in Group II from Group III also produces the differences in Column II. On all other occasions, more men are moving up the system than women, where differences occur in Columns I and III. It is comparably higher levels of mobility up the system by men which produces all the significant differences in model III. These patterns suggest some interesting conclusions.

In the closed system model there is little evidence of major sex-specific contrasts in the patterns of upward search between the sexes. In the other models, the data suggest that more women from rural parishes sought work and found husbands in urban parishes, but that men more frequently were employed in higher ranked parishes than their own in the rural sector of the settlement spectrum. The results are rather equivocal on how these trends should be resolved. It may well be that the patterns are complicated by scale factors, for the closed system model deals with a limited spatial area in which few differences could emerge. On the other hand, the open models, drawing on the flows throughout the country, show surprising similarities, level for level, in the tables, which really outweigh the sex-specific contrasts noted above. These could well arise (as the two samples show no marked common trends) from the idiosyncracies of the sample data. In an attempt to resolve these issues two further analyses have been undertaken.

(ii) Since comparisons of flows to places of comparable rank could produce a misleading impression of the overall trends within the tables, in order to assess the model further, the movement patterns up the settlement system have been reconsidered in aggregate terms for each rank of parish.

For the urban parishes this has involved comparing the number of grooms recorded in their registers from smaller places with the number of grooms from urban centres who marry in smaller parishes. The former figure represents the employment search by men, the latter by women. The matched comparison is equally simply specified for the smallest parishes (V), where entries from places in their registers are compared with the total of entries of grooms from Group V parishes in all other places. Between these two extremes comparisons of like with like flows are more complicated in their specification.

In order to clarify the values which have been used in this analysis, Table 8.7 lists the combinations of cells making up directly comparable linkages for men and women and the sex-specific totals are then used in the analysis. Parishes in ranks I to IV all have flows out up the system, for example in rank 1 a1 and b1, and they also receive an inflow from places of lower rank by both women and men (a6+a7+a8+a9 : b6+b7+b8+b9). These have to be matched precisely for the comparisons to be worthwhile. A further complication is that models I and II cover a wider spectrum of parishes than the pattern derived from the rural sample (model III); a second tabulation of the test results is therefore presented in Table 8.7 where the flows are directly comparable.

At this level of aggregate association, the closed system model (I) shows little significant contrast between the magnitude of movement up the settlement system by either men or women from specified ranks, which matches closely the previous finding. Differences are only identified in the movement pattern of men and women from parishes ranked IV and V into III, with the former being larger; elsewhere no significant differences are established.

In the other two models the trends are more varied. The pattern of significant differences in model II is retained even when the data are adjusted to remove adjacent parishes, suggesting that important contrasts

Table 8.7 A comparison of the aggregate level of movement up the settlement system. The search for sex-specific differences.

Model		Urban	I	II	III	IV	V
	Urban		a1	a2	a3	a4	a5
	I	b1	-	a6	a7	a8	a9
	II	b2	b6	-	a10	a11	a12
	III	b3	b7	b10	-	a13	a14
	IV	b4	b8	b11	b13	-	a15
	V	b5	b9	b12	b14	b15	-

Tests below compare the level of linkage with parishes of higher grade up the settlement system for men and women, identified by their position on either side of the principal diagonal. The model provides a key indicating which values are compared from Tables 8.2 and 8.3.

Table of chi-square values comparing aggregate flows on paired comparisons

H_o No significant difference exists between the magnitude of movement by women and women up the system.
The expected values are represented by half the total observed flows.
Df1 * 0.05=3.84 **0.01=6.64

Hundreds and boroughs sample:

		Unadjusted data		Adjusted data	
		Model I	Model II	Model I	Model II
Urban :	Σa1 ...a5 =b1 ...b5	0.80	6.76**	1.86	7.78**
I :	a1 =b1	1.89	11.85**	1.89	11.85**
	Σa6 ...a9 =b6 ...b9	0.87	15.70**	1.67	17.35**
II :	{a2a6 =b2b6	0.66	3.72	0.06	2.10
	Σa10..a12 =b10...b12	0.48	4.57*	2.34	5.49*
III :	Σa3 a7a10 =b3b7b10	0.27	4.75*	1.12	6.77**
	Σa13 a14 =b13 b14	3.24	13.37**	5.50	12.89**
IV :	Σa4a8a11a13=b4b8b11b13	0.43	3.43	1.45	6.27*
	a15=b15	1.90	2.92	1.30	1.67
V :	Σa5a9a12a14a15= Σb5b9b12b14b15	0.38	1.54	3.78	1.74

Matched flows for Hundreds and boroughs and rural sample:

I :	Σa6...a9=b6...b9	0.87	15.70**	61.33**	1.67	17.35**	17.55**
II :	a6=b6	2.97	21.66**	29.01**	1.35	11.94**	2.39
	Σa10a11a12=b10b11b12	0.48	4.57*	1.17	2.34	5.49*	0.57
III :	{a7a10=b7b10	0.08	0.12	7.59**	0.49	1.54	0.59
	Σa13 a14=b13b14	3.24	13.37**	0.50	5.50*	12.89**	0.61
IV :	Σa8a11a13=b8b11b13	0.02	2.51	6.25*	0.10	4.51*	2.01
	a15=b15	1.90	2.92	2.29	1.30	1.67	2.83
V :	Σa9a12a14a15= Σb9b12b14b15	0.08	1.29	0.61	2.12	2.89	0.96

Key: I Closed system model (HB sample) II Open system model (HB sample)
III Open system model (rural sample)

are incorporated in the data. This is not the case in model III, where, though differences exist in the unadjusted data, once adjacent parishes are removed only for the flows into and out of Group I parishes are sex-specific differences maintained, with more men going to work and marry in those parishes from smaller places than women marrying grooms from them in their home parishes.

The actual contrasts in the magnitude of flows which produce the significant differences in models II and III reflect the patterns noted in the previous analysis. Thus in model II, in both data sets, more women move for work into urban parishes from all lower ranked places in aggregate (a1 a2 a3 a4 a5), and from parishes in Group I (a1). More women move from Group III parishes into those higher (a3 a7 a10), and more women move from III, IV and V into II, subsequently marrying grooms from these places in their home parishes (a10, a11, a12). More men from lower ranked parishes move into those ranked in Group I, (b6 b7 b8 b9), and from parishes in Groups IV and V into those in Group III (b13 b14). The emphasis on higher levels of movement by men also produces the contrast in flows up the system from parishes in Group IV (b4 b8 b11 b13) in the adjusted data for model II.

The consistency of these patterns suggests that certain sex specific differences in premarital employment search may well be embedded in the marriage record. They also indicate that on a number of occasions more women were looking for work in places larger than their own parish than men, though this difference is not universally supported.

When the matched data for the three models are considered the patterns change somewhat by the removal from the table of urban parishes. As these appear to have a major role in attracting women, once they are removed the distinctiveness of female pre-marital mobility effectively disappears. Only in the record of movement into Group II parishes from III, IV and V (a10 a11 a12) are women dominant; on all other occasions

where differences are established in the magnitude of linkage, more men are moving to places of higher rank in search of employment. This indicates differences which can arise by truncating the settlement system and concentrating only on flows between rural parishes. It does suggest that men in rural parishes were more likely to move for work in other rural parishes of relatively higher rank, while women from the same parishes were also moving for employment within the same area but, importantly, were also looking outside that environment to urban centres within the county.

As in the previous analysis these results are therefore complicated. The closed system provides extremely limited evidence of any sex-specific contrasts, but is based on a limited geographical area in which widespread and comparable patterns of mobility by both sexes may have been possible. In contrast, the open system models recording linkages throughout the county suggest that differences did exist in certain cases between the sexes in the frequency with which work was sought in places of higher rank. As these distinctions may well relate to the scale of each table they are noted rather than resolved.

(iii) One further analysis has been undertaken on these tables to examine possible contrasts in search for work between the sexes. So far attention has concentrated on the magnitude of linkage to individual ranks of parish and to all places of higher rank by both men and women and no comment has been made on the overall structure of the search process. In theory, if men and women viewed the hierarchy of opportunity presented by various parishes in a comparable manner, then when appraising possible alternatives for employment no significant difference should be evident in the overall distributions of flows to a set of ranked places between the sexes. Unfortunately, to test such a proposition is not easy, nonetheless an attempt is made to do so in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8 A comparison of the hierarchical pattern of movement up the settlement system. The search for sex-specific differences.

Model		Urban	I	II	III	IV	V
	Urban	-	a1	a2	a3	a4	a5
	I	b1	-	a6	a7	a8	a9
	II	b2	b6	-	a10	a11	a12
	III	b3	b7	b10	-	a13	a14
	IV	b4	b8	b11	b13	-	a15
	V	b5	b9	b12	b14	b15	-

Tests below compare the distribution of contact with parishes of higher grade up the settlement system for men and women, identified by their position on either side of the principal diagonal. The model provides a key indicating which values are compared from Tables 8.2 and 8.3.

Table of chi-square values comparing actual pattern of movement on paired comparative flows.

H_o No significant difference exists in the actual pattern of movement to places of different rank up the system between the records for men and women. Degrees of freedom vary * Significant 0.05 ** Significant 0.01.

Hundreds and boroughs sample:

		D.f.	Unadjusted data Model I	Unadjusted data Model II	Adjusted data Model I	Adjusted data Model II
Urban	a1,2,3,4,5 : b1,2,3,4,5	4	10.85*	32.98**	15.76**	61.51**
I	+a1 : b1	1	1.89	11.85**	1.89	11.85**
	a6,7,8,9 : b6,7,8,9	3	11.22*	12.03**	3.18	10.94*
II	a2,6 : b2,6	1	7.81**	28.81**	5.67*	18.37**
	a10,11,12 : b10,11,12	2	2.13	7.58	0.55	8.51*
III	a3,7,10 : b3,7,10	2	6.19*	29.25**	2.43	21.94**
	a13,14 : b13,14	1	0.59	0.33	4.59*	2.28
IV	a4,8,11,13 : b4,8,11,13	3	6.29	3.54	6.17	10.15*
	+a15 : b15	1	1.90	2.92	1.30	1.67
V	a5,9,12,14,15 : b5,9,12,14,15	4	12.36*	27.57**	18.50**	20.82**

Matched flows for Hundreds and boroughs and rural sample:

			I	II	III	I	II	III
I	a6,7,8,9, : b6,7,8,9	3	11.22*	12.02**	5.10	3.18	10.94*	2.10
II	+a6 : b6	1	2.96	16.91**	29.01**	1.35	11.94**	2.39
	a10,11,12 : b10,11,12	2	2.13	7.58*	5.56	0.55	8.51*	11.55**
III	a7,10 : b7,10	1	5.30*	20.40**	16.24**	2.26	16.12**	6.85**
	13,14 : b13,14	1	0.59	0.33	0.03	4.59*	2.28	0.00
IV	a8,11,13 : b8,11,13	2	5.12	3.53	13.81**	3.19	10.16**	9.94**
	+a15 : b15	1	1.90	2.93	2.29	1.85	1.68	2.83
	a9,12,14,15 : b9,12,14,15	3	10.15*	27.57**	26.11**	16.16**	19.89**	25.52**

+_____ Entries duplicate those in Table 8.6 and are included for completeness

In this table, as before, directly matched flows to and from comparably ranked parishes are compared to examine whether the structure of the search distribution is similar. On four occasions, two in each table, paired comparisons are included simply to account for all cells in the table, but these values (marked [+]) should be ignored because they only compare flows to individual ranks of parish and not between a number of differently ranked places. For models I and II this leaves eight situations where the structure of flows between the sexes can be compared, and six in the table matching the rural sample (III) with the other two models.

Far more significant differences are established for the closed system model (I) in this analysis than in previous ones. These differences remain in both unadjusted and adjusted data, and suggest that differences do exist between the sexes in the way the hierarchy of opportunity is perceived. These differences are matched by comparable differences on the majority of occasions in model II. When the three samples are compared, some of these sex-specific contrasts disappear, but others remain, indicating far more divergence in the selection of employment destinations between men and women.

It therefore appears that for the closed system model while hardly any sex-specific contrasts exist in the overall magnitude of movement in aggregate or individually from places of given rank to higher places between the sexes, the actual patterns of such linkages do differ on a number of occasions. In model II, differences in the relative magnitudes of linkage are matched by significant differences in the structure or pattern of movement between ranks in both unadjusted and adjusted data. In both models, differences are most marked at the extremes of the system in terms of the flows into urban parishes from all other centres and out from the smallest parishes (V) into all other larger places. Here clear differences emerge in the structure of selection by men and women. Other

differences are also evident in the patterns of association between these extremes which reinforce the sex-specific contrasts.

Thus differences also emerge in these two models between the distribution of linkages into Group I from lower ranked parishes, and out from parishes in Groups II and III into higher ranked parishes between the sexes. When these results are set against the uniformity evident in Table 8.5 for the closed system model they do imply a contrasting pattern of linkage or search on either side of the principal diagonal of the table.

When models I and II are matched with those for the rural sample (III) contrasts again emerge between contact profiles. The linkages into Group I from lower ranked parishes and out from Group V parishes into higher ranked parishes differ again in models I and II. No difference is evident in the flows into Group I in model III, but a difference is evident in the linkages out from Group V parishes to all others. In all three models, the linkage out from III into higher ranked parishes differs on either side of the principal diagonal. The links of Group IV parishes to those of higher rank also show significant differences, as do the flows into Group II parishes from places of lower rank in models II and III. The fact that such differences occur suggests either that a uniform ordering mechanism does not wholly control these patterns, or that the two halves of the table comprise different populations which relate to the structure of opportunities presented by the settlement system in slightly different ways.

These results therefore could be seen as limited evidence of the proposed interpretation which partitions the marriage record of extraparochial grooms into two separate elements. One part is the product of a premarital search for employment by women to places of higher rank than their own parish, who return home to the smaller parish to wed. The other is created by the premarital mobility of men to places of higher rank than

their own parish who wed in the host parish. The differences in matched distributions support the notion of the two sexes viewing the hierarchy of opportunity in slightly contrasting ways.

The interpretation of these results is not straightforward nor do the analyses do any more than suggest interesting patterns of order and difference within the data. The tables however do reveal certain interesting regularities, which are worthy of further exploration with more sophisticated analyses in other parish registers. They indicate that the record of marriage linkages contained within parish registers may possibly reflect a structured pattern of premarital search for employment by both sexes and if this is the case they would reveal more precisely the pattern of migration paths in pre-industrial society.

The equivocal nature of these results does not allow either refutation or substantiation of the proposed interpretative model, but they do provide a perspective from which to appraise its appropriateness.

IV : Marriage and pre-marital mobility : an assessment

As noted at the outset of this chapter, levels of mobility in pre-industrial society are now generally thought to have been rather high. Laslett's (1963) figures for Clayworth show a 61 percent change in population in a twelve year period. Of these, one third were accounted for by births and deaths and the remainder by migration. This turnover, as he noted in a later study comparing Clayworth with Hallines and Longueness, was a product of six percent entry of new families and a fifteen percent loss of established households over the period (Laslett 1968). Schofield (1971a) estimated from the Cardington listing the proportion of families entering and leaving the parish during the course of the year at about three percent, which he viewed as high compared with other published figures (p263). Holderness (1970) also suggests from his examination of biographies contained in baptismal records of Yorkshire parishes that the

changeover of village populations was 'a marked if slow maturing fact of demographic evolution (p 452)' and that 'no more than 40 percent and probably less.. (of his sample) ... had ancestors living in the same parishes at the beginning of the eighteenth century (p 452)'. The mechanisms which supported these high turnovers in population are critical in this assessment.

Certainly, families were mobile at this period in the past as Eversley (1965 p 395) has commented, with couples bearing and baptising children in several different parishes during their lifetime. This point is reinforced by the various studies that have attempted for the nineteenth century the cross-matching of register and census data (Razzell 1972, Wrigley 1975), identifying local shifts of families over groups of neighbouring parishes.

Such families must have been driven by various motives and drawn in various proportions from the different strata of society. Holderness (1970) noted 'that the ebb and flow of people affected each of the principal status groups but that migration was most pronounced among labouring families (p 452)'. These families, driven by the need for employment, inevitably moved frequently, for 'work .. had to be sought wherever available, and movement in and around the parish of settlement was commonplace (p 448)'. Economic forces appear to have structured family mobility and such forces equally applied to the unmarried. The marriage data provide no information on the former stage of life cycle movement but they do give insights into the latter category, which preceded it; in so doing, they may set the scene for the course such mobility subsequently took, for in one sense such movement defined alternatives.

The critical role of premarital mobility in life-time mobility is emphasised by Hollingsworth (1971) in his preamble to his overview of historical studies of migration. In reviewing contemporary migration theory, he notes that levels of mobility rise rapidly between the ages of

15-25 and subsequently level off and then fall. He also stresses that little difference can bediscerned between the sexes in their migration rates age for age, 'except that women reach their peak rate of migration a little younger than men because they also marry a little younger'. He continues 'marriage indeed accounts for a very large share of the total migration at present, although marriage moves are mostly over quite short distances (p. 88)'. This leads to the fundamental question. How were the moves, documented in the marriage register, created? The model has proposed a logical scenario, but secondary evidence is needed to support its proposition.

Such evidence is forthcoming in Schofield's (1971a) analysis of the Cardington listing in which he offers 'a provisional paradigm of English rural migration on the eve of the industrial revolution (p. 274)'. This he achieves by documenting the age-specific mobility profiles of men and women in the parish in the year 1782, a date central to this study period. He provides two useful synopses of age-specific mobility which are worth quoting at length:

> The Cardington boy 'From 10 to 14 there would only be a 1 in 4 chance that he would be living away from home in service, but the odds in favour of his being away in service would increase dramatically to 4 to 1 between the ages of 15 to 19. In his twenties he would very probably (6 or 7 to 1) be living away from home either in service or married. He would not marry before 20, he would probably marry in his late twenties. He would be unlikely to remain celibate..' (p. 266)

> The Cardington girl 'From 10 to 14 she would almost certainly be at home, probably employed in lace making or textile spinning. From 15 to 19 she would still most probably (3.5 to 1) be similarly employed; otherwise she would be out in service. From 20 to 24 she would be almost equally likely to remain at

home, or to leave home either as a servant or to be married. If she were to leave home, she would be 1.5 times more likely to be a servant than to be married. In her late 20s, however, she would be unlikely to be at home (5 to 1 against), or a servant (10 to 1 against); most probably she would be married'. (p 267)

As Schofield notes these profiles 'emphasise the paramount importance of the custom of sending children into service for the ten years from the age of 15 until the mid-twenties when marriage finally sundered most children from their parental home (pp 267-270)'. Though this represents but one community it does provide a firm underpinning for one supposition underlying the model, namely the ubiquitous importance of pre-marital employment mobility.

The relatively long period spent working outside the parish prior to marriage was not spent in one place. Schofield points out that service and labouring contracts were frequently only for one or two years, so intervening employment locationsoccur between the original parish of settlement, and the declarations eventually made in the marriage register when matches were solemnised. This would cast some doubt on the interpretation advanced earlier of the marriage record as a reflection of <u>all</u> pre-marital mobility. Nonetheless, a case could be made supported by such secondary evidence that it does play a critical role in determining the form of the marriage entries.

This is further borne out by Schofield's analysis of the spatial extent of pre-marital employment mobility. Initially boys went into service in their home parish, but between the ages of 15 and 24 most were working outside the parish mainly in an area within 8km. of their home parish, few worked between 8 and 16km. from home, with rather more (25 percent) employed in parishes beyond 16km. More boys from Cardington went into service than girls, a function he argues of the opportunities

provided by employment in the local lace making industry. This may make his sex-specific contrast atypical. Those girls employed away from home again worked within a 8km radius of the parish and importantly showed a strong preference for work in the local country town of Bedford, where one third were employed. This contrasts with male employment, where the county town appears no more attractive as an employment destination for men than other neighbouring parishes. A sizeable proportion of girls went to work in parishes more than 16km away (24 percent), including London 72km (45 miles) away.

The distances mentioned in this analysis defining the employment mobility of both sexes match closely the mean marriage distances documented in the early part of this thesis. The sex-specific contrasts in employment destinations also fit with the results identified in the analysis presented in this chapter. These findings suggest that the proposed model may be relevant in understanding the marriage pattern.

After marriage, Schofield records that only a quarter of both male and female children settle in their home parish. Rather more women settle in neighbouring parishes than men, and many men eventually move with their families to London in search of employment advancement. These figures reinforce the patterns of high levels of turnover in village populations noted earlier, and point to the time-specificity of the data recorded in the marriage register. Significant levels of mobility occur both before and after marriage and while this model may allow something to be said of the former it offers little on the latter.

This evidence drawn from one detailed listing does lend further credibility to the model which has been proposed. The Cardington record does not provide any substantiation for many of the elements incorporated in the model formulation, but it does at least give a justification for its approach. Only comparable listings for other parishes of varying size would allow the overall structure of the model to be more fully validated.

The results presented earlier indicate clear differences in the profiles of marriage contact documented in places of contrasting size, suggesting that opportunities were perceived differently in different settings. They also stress the general similarity in the magnitude and level of contact with other places, by either sex, at least in crude terms. This is supported by the patterns found elsewhere, once the effect of the domestic pillow lace industry is recognised. Finally, they indicate that the structure of the search process for men and women does show some differences in their levels of contact with different grades of centre. This too is confirmed by Schofield's analysis of rather different data. Taken overall the secondary evidence does appear to support the propositions advanced in the model.

The interpretation of marriage linkages presented in this chapter is rather different from that used by other workers in this field, who have chosen to use the evidence as a description of the implied association of places rather than as an actual record of mobility. The emphasis has been on marriage as a non-migratory act in which the direction of association, if it is included in the record, is difficult to specify. The use of marriage data to specify community mean information fields in a rather general manner has considerable value, but remains devoid of any explanatory raison d'etre other than allusions to factors of access and proximity. What has been attempted here is to place the marriage record in a fuller behavioural context in which the selection of employment opportunities prior to marriage is critical in structuring the data.

Such an explanation does provide a basis for understanding the structure and form of the marriage data, but it is cast in the de-humanised mode of an ordered positivist geography, a world of mass order and hierarchical association. Full substantiation of the model must therefore rest on further explorations of parish data using its methodology and on

the hope that the more detailed biographical work now being undertaken in Cambridge will yield more data which will provide comparable insights to those available from the Cardington listing.

Chapter 9 Marriage and mobility : some concluding comments

This enquiry began by noting how little is currently known of patterns of migration in the pre-industrial period and by suggesting that more could be learnt of the chronology, magnitude and pattern of such movement by a detailed study of the Anglican records of marriage. An attempt has been made in the preceding pages to explore this theme. The substantive findings associated with each analysis have been presented in summary form at the close of each chapter and it would be inappropriate to re-iterate them all at this point in the discussion. However, an overview of the enquiry is called for to integrate and evaluate the general trends which have been identified.

Marriage data, in their documentation of linkage between places, are highly age-specific in the coverage of the population, of questionable completeness and accuracy, and extremely difficult to interpret in a comprehensive and wholly satisfactory manner. Such interpretation involves a high degree of inference, the success of which depends heavily on its own internal logic and the bolstering support of partial evidence derived from other studies. The analysis of these data does allow various firm conclusions to be drawn concerning the actual marriage habits of the period, but the integration of these into a wider argument on migration and mobility is not so easily achieved.

The marriage record, as a description of the area within which people 'milled about', provides a useful and readily accessible statement of both the scale and pattern of interaction occurring in the later eighteenth century. The intensity of extraparochial liaisons and variations in the patterns of associations through time also allow a useful and valuable measure of the chronology and orientation of such movement to be developed, the proportions of which showed some variation between parishes. It therefore does allow chronology, magnitude and pattern to be specified, but only

in an obvious way, for general mobility and not for directed migration. To link these movements with actual migration paths is far more problematic, but as this analysis has shown, is possible by setting the marriage decision in a fuller behavioural context.

In this study, such a context has been sought by considering the relative position of a parish within the broader settlement system and the way this influences and determines the marriage patterns which develop. The sampling and analytic strategy based on population rank, while crude, has allowed fresh insights to emerge. A more sophisticated and detailed classification of parishes would have been preferable, but proved impossible at this scale of analysis for the eighteenth century when so little demographic and socio-economic data are available. Nonetheless, these structural considerations have proved valuable and appear to be central in creating the order which is exhibited in the record of extra-parochial marriage. They are also critical to the interpretation which has been developed.

The importance of position within the settlement system has been emphasised throughout the thesis alongside a concern with regional variations between the five hundreds and boroughs. In discussing temporal trends in the marriage record, where levels of endogamy and exogamy were the focus of enquiry, differences between parishes of different rank and location do occur, affecting the frequency of extraparochial entry. The analysis suggests that considerable variations occur in time and space in the relative emphasis given to either form of marriage and that the extraparochial component constitutes a varying,but important, element in most parishes' marrriage record.

These contrasts also emerge when marriage distances are considered. The position of a community within the settlement system determines the scale of the marriage horizon and the type of parish in which people from that place might find marriage partners. This pattern of selection is

closely linked to the immediate spatial structure of opportunities and these play a role in shaping the form of the marriage field.

Thus the distribution of other settlements, their relative size and economic structure play an important part in channelling the patterns of marriage linkage recorded in the registers. No attempt has been made in this enquiry to remove by data transformations the impact of the spatial structure on distance-decay profiles. The aim has been to document associations in real rather than abstract space. Other studies have pointed to the localised and uniform character of such abstract marriage patterns, and comparable uniformity emerges in these data without such transformations. Minimum distance solutions appear to have been sought throughout the period and these show only slight changes as the eighteenth century passes.

The social framework within which these marital decisions were taken has been less satisfactorily explored. Here the limitations of the eighteenth century registers make the sort of full specification which would be desirable, difficult to achieve. This is particularly so for occupational data. These would have been invaluable, if they had been fuller, in the calibration of the model proposed in chapter eight. The limited detail provided by parish registers on employment has been noted by others and simply has to be accepted (Wrigley 1977a p 10). Other registers may well provide more information on this score in the future. Nonetheless, certain social and behavioural regularities have been established and these provide a broad framework within which to view the marriage decision.

The statistical regularities which have emerged from this analysis expand existing knowledge on marriage habits and document the spatial extent of marital choice for a larger group of parishes than has hitherto been attempted. It has been argued that the general mobility the registers describe can be more fully appreciated by interpreting the marriage record as the product of a pattern of pre-marital employment movement. This

allows the data to be used as a basis for specifying actual migration paths in pre-industrial society. The appropriateness of such a model can only be satisfactorily assessed by further work directly exploring its assumptions with detailed biographical evidence.

Such cautious statements reflect the problems which surround the interpretation of the marriage record. To step beyond them and argue that these data provide a complete statement of mobility and migration in the pre-industrial period would be unrealistic. They do however provide valuable insights into the form such movement took and the likely direction of migration. Unlike many other sources, they are representative of the population as a whole and are widely available, and as such, the contribution they can make in documenting past levels of mobility should not be underrated, particularly during the later eighteenth century. They suggest, for Shropshire, an interesting pattern of mobility and migration in this period, which confirms other findings and clarifies the established overviews on this theme.

The years from 1754-1810 formed a critical period in English history. The industrial revolution was establishing itself and gaining momentum. Shropshire, as one of the hearths of this momentous change, was, by the end of the period, removed from the innovative vanguard of this process. The Coalbrookdale region, established through the impact of the Darbys, had reached its peak in innovative terms in the first half of the century. Industry continued in the area and the surrounding parishes well into the early nineteenth century, but it failed to expand and consolidate, unlike the more substantial industrial areas to the east and north (Birch 1934, Trinder 1973, 1974). During the eighteenth century however, this area and the other urban centres in the county, were viewed as centres of opportunity by people in search of work in Shropshire.

This is confirmed by the marriage record, where movements to the industrial parishes are reflected in the choice of marriage partners. The

flows of people to the towns of Madeley and Broseley (and Dawley, Wellington and Lilleshall outside the study area) appear to have been primarily from the surrounding rural parishes rather than from further afield. In this sense, any growth from migration appears to have been locally generated and would support Deane and Cole's propositions. This area did however show links with regions of industrial development further afield and such linkages monitored in the marriage records are matched by studies using settlement certificates (Trinder 1973 Chapter XVI pp 311-318, Furbank et al. 1973). Thus the area may well have acted as a source region from which migrants went to the more rapidly expanding towns of the west midlands, as well as a destination for local migrants from within Shropshire.

Trinder (1973 p 311) has drawn attention to the importance of migrant labour on the coalfield, emphasising both its local origins and the links to other more distant parts of the country. The available evidence of migration to the coalfield is slight and he suggests that many individuals and families may have moved and taken up residence in these parishes without ever gaining settlement rights. He notes that in Madeley in 1793 over 1000 of the 3677 inhabitants had settlements in other parishes (p 312) and also indicates that this figure may arise as a result of the policy of not awarding settlement rights because of the nature of the work in the mines (p 313). The actual places he specifies as sources of migrants match closely those revealed in the marriage registers, confirming the picture they present.

Furbank's (1973) evidence derived from the settlement books of the Much Wenlock Poor Law records confirms this similarity. Indeed, when the actual parishes are compared between the settlement and marriage registers the pattern of local migration matches very precisely and suggests that the controlling factor of employment search is evident in both records. Some contrasts do however emerge when the movements to Birmingham and Staffordshire are specified, but it is difficult to be certain that the two data sets are dealing with identical periods, or populations.

The general similarity between these records does lend additional support to marriage data, providing at least a partial statement of the probable migration paths current in this period. Furbank's analysis of removal orders emphasises the extreme localisation of the pattern of immigration into Much Wenlock, a pattern closely matched in the diagrams presented in chapter six. A similar conformity is evident in the details of emigration from the town, but he does stress that as removal orders were concerned with the unsuccessful migrant and as they are very partial in their coverage, this limits their accuracy.

These two studies cast more light on the underlying accuracy of the marriage record. Trinder emphasises the difficulties of acquiring settlement rights in the coalfield parishes. Legal settlement, by means other than birth, could be gained by paying parish rates, by marrying (this only applied to women), by becoming a parish official, by serving an apprenticeship in a parish or by being in full-time employment for a year or more in the parish (this provision applied only to unmarried persons). Three of these criteria could apply to the marriage record and may disguise the true declarations in the marriage registers. However, the problems Trinder specifies and the evidence of disputed settlement in this area sworn before Justices of the Peace discussed by Furbank (1973 pp 35-36), suggest that legal settlement was far from easy to obtain. If this were the case, then it is probable that the declarations in the marriage registers may be more accurate than previously thought.

The marriage data therefore appear to describe a pattern of association with other places closely matching that derived from other sources. As these other sources are specifically related to employment mobility, such conformity adds further substantiation to the interpretation advanced in chapter eight where the record of marriage linkage is seen to describe the pattern of pre-marital employment search.

Unfortunately, similar cross matching of sources can not be attempted for other areas within the two samples. The majority of these were rural parishes and their marriage patterns document movement to some urban areas, within and outside the county, but predominantly reflect links to other agricultural parishes. These movement patterns, and the directed linkage they imply, have been shown to be essentially small scale, less than 10 km. in radius, and equally seem likely to reflect pre-marital employment mobility. The dimensions of such fields increased up the settlement spectrum suggesting a nested hierarchy of marriage/migration spaces, moulded by the surrounding spatial structure of opportunities.

This implies that the marriage data, in the patterns of linkage they record, reflect the organising structure of the central place system. This theme has been explored in a recently published overview of the evolution of social systems by Smith (1976), in which various anthropological studies of marriage and levels of endogamy have been integrated around the ideas developed by Skinner (1964, 1965) for rural Chinese communities. The process mechanism directing the pattern is fundamentally economic and the social pattern is a consequence of it. Given the regularities which have been identified in this study, it may well be that this economic conditioning of social choices is worthy of further exploration in pre-industrial society.

There is little evidence from 1754-1810 of any major increase in levels and distances of pre-marital movement, or of change in the structure of linkage the marriage records describe. In aggregate terms, between the beginning and end of the period, statistically significant differences do emerge in the form of marital distance-decay profiles. This appears to be the product of a gradual expansion of horizons. Rising proportions of extraparochial marriages were not apparent until the 1790s, accompanied by rather longer mean marriage distances, and while this may represent the beginning of Zelinsky's (1971) mobility transition, any major expansion of

the scale of interaction into the wider national area was essentially a nineteenth century phenomenon. Nonetheless, for a few, the search for work in the latter half of the eighteenth century took them well beyond the bounds of their home parishes. When such movements did occur they appear to reflect objective economic determination rather than associations prescribed by kinship or other social factors.

Variations in marriage fields and migration paths for different social groups have only tentatively been explored. The data are too limited to do more. It is clear however that the nested structure of marriage distances associated with a parishes' position within the settlement system are constructed from sub-populations with contrasting spatial horizons. Those of higher status appear to have selected partners from a wider area than those lower down the social spectrum. These contrasts are reflected by different emphases in the choice of marriage authorisation procedure. Cost discrimination and the spatial convenience of the licenced form encouraged the use of this procedure by the more mobile. A larger proportion of those of higher status married extraparochial partners than in the lower social groups which no doubt reflects social constraints within the marriage market. This social aspect, inadequately explored in these data, may form an important caveat to the economic argument presented earlier.

Eversley (1965 p 40) has noted that 'obstacles to marriage between persons of different degrees of rank or wealth existed'. This must have constrained the choice of partners. This point has been reiterated by Glass (1972 p 3) who argues that 'the universe of possible mates is firmly bounded by social class ... so that romantic love tends to operate within a relatively limited social space, that space to a considerable extent being defined by the socio-economic status of the parents'. This has been confirmed by the detailed studies of the gentry which have been undertaken (Habakkuk 1950, Hollingsworth 1964, Thomas 1972, Stone 1977), where late marriage or enforced celibacy occurred and where marriage alliances were

used to make,or could break,family fortunes. With such tight social controls on the choice of partner, inevitably choice by the higher social groups had to occur over a wider geographical area, a choice no doubt determined by family designation.

The data presented here suggest longer marriage distances and higher levels of exogamy for those of Independent Means and in the Professions, where choice might have been socially determined. These marriages are unlikely to have been the result of the economically determined pattern of pre-marital employment search presented earlier. Instead, though they are included in those tabulations, they have a different generating force. Such marriages form a small proportion of all those recorded in the registers. For other social groups class endogamy, if it could be measured, was probably of less significance. Traders, craftsmen and labourers no doubt intermarried freely, but in the absence of information on the occupation of brides or their parents for this period, this cannot be explored, and must simply be presumed. These social qualifications should be borne in mind in assessing the results presented above.

One final point of interest from these data is the significantly shorter distances recorded for marriages among the labouring population. This is at odds with the findings presented by Clark (1972) and Spufford (1974) for the preceding centuries. They have argued for two main types of migrational movement, namely betterment and subsistence migration. Clark suggests the former constituted the respectable movement of the established in search of economic and social improvement and the latter the desperate search by the very poorest in society for a livelihood. The former was invariably, it is claimed, over shorter distances than the latter. The patterns evident in these data for the eighteenth century do not fit easily into such a scenario. This perhaps arises because the mobility associated with marriage is age-specific in character and documents a positive view by the participants towards the future. As such, all decisions are related to the process of 'betterment'.

To place a study of this type in the context of established work dealing with earlier periods and approached from contrasting viewpoints is inevitably problematic. The insights and methods of the historian and the basis which is accepted for generalisation reflect fundamentally different explanatory modes than the geographical framework within which this work was conceived and developed. The restricted size of the sample populations in many distinguished historical studies and the fulsome detail accompanying such comprehensive reconstructions of past communities make synthesis difficult. Historians have woven an accepted backcloth for mobility in this period from the integration of a number of separate detailed strands, drawn from diverse geographical locations and varying demographic settings. In so doing, it has become accepted that the overall mobility of population during the eighteenth century was high at the outset, subsequently declined and increased in the latter years of the century. This general model has found further validation as new studies are added, but even when these are included, our knowledge of mobility in the pre-industrial period depends on evidence drawn from a minute fraction of the 10,000 parishes covering the country.

This study has attempted to add something more to this debate by concentrating on the mobility which preceded marriage, documented in the act of solemnisation. The importance of this mobility has already been emphasised in earlier sections. Schofield (1972) implied that such mobility was a critical component of all movement: 'in England ... migration was an age-specific event, and migration after marriage was much less frequent than migration before marriage (p 14).'. A similar view has been advanced more recently by Martin (1978). His analysis of Beauchamps' listing for Stratford on Avon of 1765, noted a minimum of 21-27 percent foreign heads of households, of whom a third originated within four miles radius, another third within ten miles and the rest further afield. These proportions were confirmed by an analysis of settlement certificates, which revealed a

similar pattern of spatial contact. He commented 'one might tentatively draw the conclusion that a large segment of the immigrant families had entered the ranks of borough householder either at marriage or in the early stages of family formation (p 47).'.

Both studies emphasise the critical role of pre-marital mobility in total life-time migration, while not denying movement at later stages in the life-cycle. They also point to marriage as an important staging post in the mobility profile, though certainly not the only one.

This is further confirmed, though not specifically acknowledged, by Wrigley (1977 b) in his study of the life-time mobility of married women. From detailed baptismal data, comparable to that examined by Holderness (1970), he was able to reconstruct associations for women across three generations for the years from 1765-1777 in Colyton. Details of the maternal grandfather's location, provided a parish of birth for the wife and mother, who lived and baptised her child in Colyton. The records therefore also included her marriage and the movement associated with it. In 202 of the 366 cases, or 55 percent, the wife was a foreigner, implying that she moved from her parish of birth to her husband's parish on marriage. Most women came from parishes within five miles (62 percent), the remainder from further afield, but the majority were from parishes within twenty five miles of Colyton. This matches quite closely the interpretation presented in this study from marriage register evidence.

Wrigley also noted (p 23) that 'a high proportion of all married couples were buried in the parish where they were married when their first child was also baptised there', reinforcing the critical importance of these data in assessing migration potential. Only by increasing such longitudinal studies can the relative importance of movement at different stages in the life-cycle be appreciated.

These studies reinforce the interpretation presented and suggest that it does have considerable validity. The critical question, however,

is not whether people moved prior to marriage, but whether the implied pattern of settlement after marriage did occur. The model argues for a movement of brides back to their grooms' parish, if it is of greater demographic rank than their own, and of grooms to the brides' parish if they come from smaller places. Oosterveen's (1974) work on Hawkshead, using a 30 percent sample of households, revealed that of the 78 extra-parochial grooms recorded in the registers, 59 took brides away from the parish and 19 remained to settle there. No indication is given of the relative rank of these extraparochial origins, but these figures reveal a substantial outflow of women on marriage to settlement in their husbands' parishes as does Wrigley's (1977b) study. Further work is required to check this proposition on parishes where adequate data are available.

Unfortunately, this study cannot provide the detailed local substantiation necessary to justify fully its argument. This is a prime weakness, but is also indirectly one of its strengths. The size of the two samples has restricted detailed follow up work, but it has allowed numerical regularities to be established in a way that is impossible in the analysis of an individual community. Thus regularities in marital patterns have emerged alongside certain interesting structural variations. In the light of previous work, emphasising the high turnover in village populations, perhaps one of the most interesting is the variation in levels of exogamy.

The samples have revealed considerable variation in levels of exogamy in parishes of different demographic rank. Levels were clearly greatest in the smallest places and decreased up the settlement hierarchy. Overall, slightly less than 30 percent of all marriages involved an extraparochial partner, but around this average figure far higher and lower proportions are recorded for individual years and decades in places of given rank. The overall turnover these figures imply is, in average terms, very similar to that presented in other studies, though it certainly represents a conservative estimate.

Spufford (1974) cites Professor Chambers' work on 60 parishes in the Vale of Trent, suggesting, from traces of surnames in the baptismal and burial registers, a loss of between 40-50 percent, which is rather higher. Other work on surnames and their stability suggests equally high overall turnovers (Watson 1975, Souden and Lasker 1978) as do the baptismal records examined by Holderness (1970) and Wrigley (1977b). However, none of these studies directly places the proportions of people who move in the context of the size of the community in which they dwell. To introduce such a refinement may well modify somewhat the universal acceptance of these high figures.

It is certain that marriage data do underrepresent the overall level of mobility. Firstly, because of the likelihood of incorrect specification of parish of origin, either through the obtaining of settlement rights or because of the incumbents' error. Secondly, because pre-marital mobility is only part of all life-time mobility which occurred and listings and other sources must inevitably monitor additional moves. Thirdly, and most importantly, a conservative estimate is generated by the way in which levels of exogamy are calculated in the analysis. This is not to deny the regularities identified in this survey, but simply to specify their degree of precision. The third source of error needs some elaboration.

As noted in chapter two, historical demographers are advised to deal with groups of contiguous parishes in reconstructing past communities. This allows both flows into and out of the community to be specified. On the assumption that most mobility is local, the aggregate level of exogamy calculated for a group of contiguous parishes would incorporate all moves. This has been achieved in the hundreds and boroughs sample, but does not apply to the analysis of individual communities. Consequently, the level of exogamy which is calculated for an individual parish, only relates the extraparochial component to the inhabitants of the parish who marry at home. Many people may leave a parish to marry following customary practice and

these need to be incorporated in any assessment to define the actual turnover which occurred.

Some indication of the proportions omitted in these figures can be gained by comparing a parish's banns book (a record of all banns called) with those banns marriages solemnised in the marriage register. This of course omits any marriages authorised by licence, but gives some indication of the degree of underestimation. This theme has not been pursued in this analysis, but would greatly increase the estimated turnover of population. If adjustments were made for this factor, the details derived from the marriage registers, coupled with predictions of likely settlement patterns after marriage, would produce a picture of mobility for individual communities very comparable to those gleaned from extant listings. This forms an important caveat to the use of levels of exogamy as a measure of all mobility occurring for any given community.

Emphasis has so far been placed on the substantive findings of the thesis and their relevance to the overall issue of migration in the pre-industrial period: alongside such statements certain criticisms and limitations must be acknowledged. These might profitably be avoided in future research.

Of these, perhaps the most pertinent is that the work concentrates on a single source, omitting related demographic records and restricting the amount of comment on the more general socio-economic climate of Shropshire in the later eighteenth century. Such information could have been successfully integrated to provide both a situational and explanatory context for many of the patterns. Its omission arose from the tight focus of the study : a focus which has paid dividends, but which lacks a rounded historical setting.

This criticism is extremely relevant and was recognised at the outset. However, as such a complete demographic and historical reconstruction was never intended, the results must be accepted for what they represent. Indeed,

one of the prime intentions underlying this work has been to break away from the detailed analysis of one or two individual parishes and to try to establish something of the consistency and variation that existed between parishes of different rank in different settings and this goal has been satisfactorily achieved.

One further criticism should perhaps also be acknowledged and this relates to the scale of the enquiry. Throughout the thesis two samples have been referred to deliberately, to check the accuracy of the findings. This and the partitioning of the record between brides and grooms has led to a discussion which may seem repetitive but is not so. The issue of scale has also had repercussions on the data and its method of evaluation.

Throughout the thesis an attempt has been made to achieve a complete coverage of the range of settlement, while at the same time generating adequate sample sizes from which to make acceptable generalisations. This has led to the aggregation of parish data sets and the loss of individual details. Wherever possible, attempts have been made to ascertain whether the aggregations produce results that are incompatible with the individual records and in most cases the procedures adopted seem justified.

Acceptance of such a methodology depends partly on the intention of the study and partly on the philosophy of the enquirer. Given geography's broad umbrella, and the plural approaches it shelters, this search for aggregate regularity and positivist order has a contribution, however discrete, to make to the discussion of mobility in the pre-industrial period. As a social geographer viewing the past from a contemporary perspective, this approach seems justified and offers useful explanatory insights, which do act as a foil for the more pointed, localised and personalised discussions of the historians.

Finally, some comment is necessary on the techniques employed in this study. The methods used have been essentially simple, but the data are

such that they could be profitably analysed by far more sophisticated methods. The continuous time series provided by the marriage registers, with their associated spatial references could be usefully explored using time series and spectral analysis. This would allow the correlation and phasing of the trends of vital events to be more accurately assessed, and the meshing of behaviour in time and space to be accomplished.

Alternative analyses are also possible on the spatial linkages recorded in the marriage registers. Two approaches suggest the possibility of useful contributions. The models of social physics could be used to examine the marriage pattern employing variants of the traditional gravity formulations, or, more pertinently, simulation procedures might be used as a check on the processes shaping the pattern. Both of these approaches would be constrained by data problems, but these could certainly be overcome for the nineteenth, if not the eighteenth century when more general information is available.

The absence of either of these approaches and others in this analysis arises from limitations which emerge in any research project in whatever period it is conceived. Initially in any study, the source itself has to be understood and explored and its potential realised. Ideas on its further use and on more effective analysis only come at a later date, as a product of the work that has gone before. So it is in this enquiry, but it is clear from this study that much more can be established from these data by diligent and imaginative analysis.

In conclusion, this thesis has attempted to seek out the regularities contained within the Anglican marriage record. It has identified a number of these and, in so doing, provided a more substantive picture of marriage in Shropshire from 1754-1810. It has revealed both the limited extent and the variability of past behavioural worlds. It also suggests something of the pattern of regional variation in movement, redressing the bias towards metropolitan migration flows noted by Patten (1973 p 49), and the critical

role played by pre-marital mobility in creating this pattern. As documented evidence of past worlds, the marriage registers do yield stimulating insights into the form and character of migration linkages in pre-industrial England.

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APPENDIX I

SOURCES

A variety of documents have been used in this enquiry. Marriage data were abstracted from manuscript registers, the numerous volumes of parish registers published by the Shropshire Parish Register Society (SPRS), from transcripts prepared for publication by members of the society and from microfilms of registers held by Shropshire libraries. Where it was possible the published registers and transcripts were cross-checked with manuscript sources and appear accurate. All of the parishes examined in this enquiry were part of the dioceses of Lichfield (L) or Hereford (H) and this is noted alongside details of the records for individual parishes. Marriage data were collected for the period 1754-1810 from each register.

The marriage registers consulted in this thesis were housed either in the Shropshire Collection in the Shrewsbury Borough Library (SBL) or in the Shropshire Record Office (SRO). My thanks are extended to the various individuals in both these libraries for the help they gave in tracing this material.

THE RURAL SHROPSHIRE SAMPLE

These data were drawn from the twenty three parishes listed below.

Upland sub-sample

MUCH WENLOCK * : Mss. registers in the keeping of Much Wenlock Parish Church.

BITTERLEY : Shropshire registers (H.Vol.4) 1658-1812. SPRS. SBL.

CHURCH STRETTON * : Shropshire registers (H.Vol.8) 1661-1812. SPRS. SBL.

HOPESAY : Shropshire registers (H.Vol.18) 1660-1812. SPRS. SBL.

KINLET		:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.17) 1657-1840. SPRS. SBL.
CLUNGUNFORD		:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1559-1812. SBL.
MORE		:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.2) 1570-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 1053/1-8, 1188/I. SRO.
EDGTON		:	Shropshire registers (H. Vol.3) 1722-1812. SPRS. SBL.
ABDON	*	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.19) 1560-1812. SPRS. SBL.
HABBERLEY	*	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.5) 1598-1812. SPRS. SBL.
HOPE BOWDLER	*	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS 1563-1837. SBL.
SIDBURY		:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.I) 1560-1812. SPRS. SBL.

Lowland Sub-sample

WEM		:	Shropshire registers (L.Vols. 9 & 10) 1547-1812. SPRS.SBL
PONTESBURY	*	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.12) 1538-1812. SPRS. SBL.
ERCALL MAGNA		:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.20) 1585-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 2258. SRO.
RUYTON XI TOWNS		:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.5) 1719-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 2106/I-10. SRO.
WROXETER		:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.II) 1613-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 2656/I-8. SRO.
MONTFORD		:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.7) 1662-1812. SPRS. SBL.
TONG		:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.4) 1629-I812. SPRS. SBL.
BOLAS MAGNA		:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.13) 1585-1812. SPRS. SBL.
UFFINGTON		:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.5) 1578-1812. SPRS. SBL.
UPPINGTON		:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.4) 1650-1812. SPRS. SBL.
HORDLEY		:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.7) 1686-1812. SPRS. SBL.

* Parishes also included in the Regional Sample.

THE REGIONAL SAMPLE : FIVE HUNDREDS AND BOROUGHS.

Borough of Ludlow.

LUDLOW	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vols. 13 & 14) 1558-1812 SPRS. SBL. Mss. 2881/1/1-35 SRO.

Ford Hundred

PONTESBURY	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.12) 1538-1812 SPRS. SBL.
WESTBURY with Ministerley	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.12) 1637-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 2767/7/1-6. SRO.
ALBERBURY with Wollaston and Criggion.	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vols. 6 & 7) 1564-1812. SPRS. SBL.
CARDESTON	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.5) 1663-1812. SPRS. SBL.
FORD	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.1) 1589-1812. SPRS. SBL.
HABBERLEY	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.5) 1598-1812. SPRS. SBL.

Condover Hundred

ACTON BURNELL with Ruckley and Langley	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.19) 1568-1812. SPRS. SBL.
BERRINGTON	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.14) 1663-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 714/1-4. SRO.
CONDOVER	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.6) 1570-1812. SPRS. SBL.
COUND with Cressage	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.2) 1562-1812. SPRS. SBL.
FRODESLEY	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.4) 1547-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 2281/1-4. SRO.

HARLEY	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.2) 1590-1812. SPRS. SBL.
KENLEY	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.2) 1682-1812. SPRS. SBL.
LEEBOTWOOD	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.5) 1547-1812. SPRS. SBL.
LONGNOR	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.5) 1586-1812. SPRS. SBL.
PITCHFORD	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.1) 1558-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 3348. SRO.
CHURCH PREEN	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.16) 1680-1812. SPRS. SBL.
CHURCH PULVERBATCH	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1541-1812. SBL.
SMETHCOTE	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.1) 1609-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss 3417/1/1-38-42. SRO.
STAPLETON	:	Shropshire registers (L.Vol.1) 1635-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 883/1-3. SRO.
WOOLSTASTON	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.1) 1601-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 2282/1-2. SRO.

Munslow Hundred

ABDON	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.19) 1560-1812. SPRS. SBL.
ACTON SCOTT	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1690-1812. SBL.
ASHFORD BOWDLER	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1602-1837. SBL.
ASHFORD CARBONELL	:	1653-1812 Microfilm No. 10. SBL. Illegible 1795-1812.
BROMFIELD with Halford	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.5) 1559-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 219/1-3,2376/1/1-9. SRO.

CARDINGTON	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1598-1812. SBL.
CLEE ST.MARGARET	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1634-1812. SBL.
CULMINGTON	:	Mss. 991/1-9. SRO.
DIDDLEBURY	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.15) 1583-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 1704/1-12. SRO.
EASTHOPE	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.19) 1624-1812. SPRS. SBL.
HOLDGATE	:	1662-1796 Microfilm No.17. SBL. Incomplete for the total period.
HOPE BOWDLER	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1563-1837. SBL.
HOPTON CANGEFORD	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1790-1812. Incomplete for the total period.
MUNSLOW	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.15). 1538-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 2788/1-4. SRO.
ONIBURY	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.18). 1577-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 2895/1-9. SRO.
RUSHBURY	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1538-1812. SBL.
STANTON LACY	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vob.4) 1561-1812. SPRS. SBL.
*STANTON LONG	:	No records of marriages from 1754-1810 available, omitted from the analysis but part of Munslow Hundred.
STOKESAY	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.17) 1559-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 2899/1-13. SRO.
STRETTON	:	Shropshire registers(H.Vol.8) 1661-1812. SPRS. SBL.
TUGFORD	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1755-1812. SPRS. SBL.
WESTON COLD	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.20) 1689-1812. SPRS. SBL.
WISTANSTOW	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.17) 1661-1812. SPRS. SBL. Mss. 3455. SRO.

Borough of Wenlock

BADGER	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.16) 1660-1812. SPRS. SBL.
BARROW	:	Mss. 2992/1-14. SRO.
BECKBURY	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1738-1812. SBL.
BENTHALL	:	Mss. 2993/1/1-7. SRO.
BROSELEY with Linley	:	Mss. 2991/1-20. SRO.
EATON under HEYWOOD	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.19) 1660-1812. SPRS. SBL. No records of marriage 1754-84, details partial for total period.
DITTON PRIORS	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1673-1812. SBL.
DEUXHILL	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.5) 1718-1812. SPRS. SBL.
HUGHLEY	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.1) 1576-1812. SPRS. SBL.
MADELEY	:	Mss. 2280/1/1-35. SRO. Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1645-1812. SBL.
MONKHOPTON	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.3) 1678-1812. SPRS. SBL.
SHIPTON	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.1) 1538-1812. SPRS. SBL.
STOKE ST. MILBOROUGH	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.19) 1654-1812. SPRS. SBL.
WENLOCK Little	:	Unpublished transcript by SPRS. 1689-1812. SPRS. SBL.
WENLOCK Much	:	Mss. registers in the keeping of Much Wenlock Parish Church.
WILLEY	:	Shropshire registers (H.Vol.16) 1644-1812. SPRS. SBL.

APPENDIX II

Published Papers produced during the course of the doctoral study.

I : National Parish Register Data : an evaluation of the comprehensiveness of the areal cover. Local Population Studies, 1976, 17, 16-24.

II : National Marriage Data : a re-aggregation of John Rickman's marriage returns. Local Population Studies 1976, 17, 25-41.

III : Marriage seasonality 1761-1810 : an assessment of patterns in seventeen Shropshire parishes. Local Population Studies 1977, 19, 23-27.

I

NATIONAL PARISH REGISTER DATA: AN EVALUATION OF THE COMPREHENSIVENESS OF THE AREAL COVER

W. J. Edwards

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There has been considerable debate in recent years on the value of John Rickman's parish register abstracts (PRAs) as the basis for the analysis of population trends during the eighteenth century; the general consensus is that the problems involved in using these data are so great that little reliance can be placed on estimates based on them.[1] Most of these criticisms have focused on the limitations of the parochial record of vital events and only indirectly on the comprehensiveness of the survey. The latter can also influence the accuracy of the PRA record, particularly if the parishes making returns vary from one census date to another, thus affecting the comparability of the tabulations and the interpretation of trends based on them. This paper examines the problem of variation in areal coverage, the attempts made by Rickman to improve his survey and the anomalies that arise when the data are analysed at different scales.

The Parish Register Abstracts (PRAs)

The data tabulated in the PRAs of 1801-1841 were based on returns made by the parish clergy. As Glass points out, most of the original returns were destroyed in 1904, which makes any enquiry into the accuracy of the data more difficult.[2] Using the summary tabulations in the census volumes three methods of evaluation are possible. First, the degree of consistency among the PRA data themselves can be examined; second, the PRA data can be compared with fresh aggregations derived from extant registers; and third local surveys of parochial registration can be used to derive precise sample levels of error that can then be applied to the summary data.[3] All three approaches need to be employed before reliable conclusions can be drawn, but the first is the obvious starting point.

The first PRA, for the 1801 census, included information on baptisms and burials for the first year of each decade from 1700-80, and for individual years from 1780-1800. Marriage data, however, were provided for each year from 1754-1800. Returns which included defective registers were noted, but no precise details of any adjustments to the data were recorded, even though some is known to have occurred.[4] Each of the census returns from 1811, 1821, 1831 and 1841 also included a PRA,

these volumes summarised the vital events of the preceding decade as recorded in the parish registers; in each case details are given of the number of places making returns and in 1831, a full survey of surviving registers and of any deficiencies in their records was collected. In the first four PRAs, the areal units for which data are given are England and Wales; counties; and hundreds, boroughs and liberties. In 1841, the units are the ancient and registration counties, and poor law districts, hence it is only at a county level that comparisons are possible with earlier data.

This change in the nature of the collection unit highlights one problem that is universal to all the series of vital events recorded in the PRAs. Namely, did Rickman include the same parishes on all occasions or do the records apply to slightly different areas in each PRA? The comprehensiveness of the areal cover may be considered crucial in assessing the representativeness of these statistics and critical in the interpretation of trends of vital events for administrative areas or counties. This issue can be illustrated by reference to Rickman's record of marriages in a number of counties in the Midlands and Welsh borders.

The areal cover

An incomplete areal cover, and particularly variations in the completeness of cover from one census date to another, can cause most perplexing problems of interpretation in the construction of aggregate trends of vital events. Unless it is known which units provided returns, it is difficult to decide whether an increase in the number of marriages at two successive dates should be attributed to the addition to the record of one or more parishes, or to an increase in nuptiality. Some indication of changes in the extent of coverage can be gained from the total number of registers returned at each census. There were, however, variations in the degree of coverage both from one PRA to the next and from one region to another, as can be illustrated from the data Rickman tabulated.

Rickman was initially uncertain how many parish returns he needed to collect a complete cover. Consequently, close attention to the commentary and places making returns included in each PRA is necessary, if his progressive attempts to improve the coverage of the survey are to be assessed. This procedure can however prove rather confusing as different figures are presented in different parts of the abstracts at the same date and from one date to the next.

In 1801, Rickman's tables indicate that for England and Wales he was expecting 11634 returns to achieve 100 per cent coverage and that the actual returns were 1143 short. In the commentary to the volume these figures are changed to 11655 and 1164 respectively and presumably include supplementary information. He notes that some 389 of the apparently missing records had been included with those already returned (mostly chapelries included with the parish of the mother church), whilst other returns reached Rickman too late for inclusion in the county tables of the PRA. Some 495 of these late returns are included in a Supplement to the volume, printed and published along with the tabulations, but prepared after they had been completed.[5]

The Supplement presents annual totals of vital events for all the late entries and while footnotes document which parishes are included and which remain outstanding, it is impossible to extract from the listings details of annual marriages for individual parishes. Some indication can be gained from these tables of regional variation in non-returns, but it is inconclusive.[6] In the commentary to the 1801 census it is claimed that there were finally only 280 places in England and Wales for which no returns were received for the period 1754-1800, and it is claimed that 'these are almost without exceptions Chapelries, of whose Registers many are supposed to be included in the Returns made from the Registers of their respective Mother Churches."

When Rickman looked back at his 1801 experience in collecting parish register data, he realised that the coverage problems arose principally from uncertainty, both on his part and on the part of the clergy who transcribed the returns, as to which units (and therefore how many units) were involved. Where the parish was large and contained several sub-units, should one composite return be made for the whole parish or should there be several separate returns, one for each chapelry or township? Consequently, prior to the 1811 survey, Rickman and his lieutenants analysed national and county maps (the details of which are not specified), and wrote letters to 2100 clergy and overseers of the poor, in an attempt to determine precisely the number of returns that might be expected. This led to a further modification to the 1801 assessment from 11634 to 11065 expected returns of which 10643 had been actually received. As a result, Rickman was convinced by 1811 that he had solved this problem and he stated that 'the situation now is one in which the defect can scarcely exceed 3 or 4 in 11,159 registers of Churches and Chapels herein enumerated.'[8] The improvement in coverage was maintained in 1821 and 1831; the number of places making returns differs as a result of ecclesiastical reorganisations, but on each occasion the proportion of non-returns (under 0.1 per cent) is impressively low. The slight discrepancy between the tabulated figures and the commentaries in 1811 and 1821 is due to the omission of dissenting registers included in the overall tables. It would appear therefore that in 1811 and subsequently, areal coverage is unlikely to be the cause of any significant inaccuracy in the PRA data; the problem is restricted to the period 1754-1800 and here is less widespread than might be thought.

The variations from region to region in areal coverage can be illustrated from selected West Midland and Welsh borderland counties. Tables 1a and b show that in 1801, prior to the collection of late returns, the percentage of supposed non-returns varied from nil in Shropshire to 36.5 per cent in Denbigh. The Supplement shows that much lower percentages prevailed after corrections had been applied (except in Shropshire and Radnor).[9] Closer analysis is necessary before these two anomalies can be explained, though continued overestimation of the expected number of units seems the most likely reason. Interestingly, four of these counties, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire and Radnorshire are included by Sylvester in the area of Britain dominated by single-township parishes. The remaining counties are characterised by large parishes with many townships, with as many as six townships per parish occurring

Table 1a: Regional Variations in places making returns to the PRA for selected counties.

	1801			1811			1821			1831		
	r	nr	t	r	nr	t	r	nr	t	r	nr	t
Industrialised Counties												
Stafford	165	22	187	184	—	184	183	—	183	180	3	183
Warwick	191	39	230	209	—	209	209	—	209	210	1	211
Borderland Counties												
Cheshire	110	32	142	130	—	130	131	—	131	125	—	125
Hereford	206	51	257	225	—	225	225	—	225	223	1	224
Shropshire	212	—	212	228	—	228	235	—	235	234	—	234
Worcester	191	17	208	197	—	197	203	—	203	199	—	199
Welsh Counties												
Denbigh	59	34	93	60	—	60	60	—	60	58	—	58
Montgomery	46	4	50	51	—	51	53	—	53	53	—	53
Radnor	50	9	59	53	—	53	52	—	52	52	—	52

Source: PRA Census Vols 1801-31. Supplement not included.

Table 1b: Percentage non-return in 1801, excluding and including the Supplement.

	% nr Excluding Supplement	% nr Including Supplement
Industrialised Counties		
Stafford	11.7	3.9
Warwick	16.9	4.3
Borderland Counties		
Cheshire	22.5	2.9
Hereford	19.8	5.5
Shropshire	—*	10.2
Worcester	8.0	4.8
Welsh Counties		
Denbigh	36.5	3.0
Montgomery	8.0	—
Radnor	15.2	15.2

Source: PRA Census Vols 1801 County reports and Supplement p. 449. *Shropshire records no non-returns in the County section of the census. However in the supplement 24 returns are listed as outstanding. p. 450.

Notes: r = return nr = non-return t = total

in Cheshire.[10] Although the high percentage non-return in Cheshire and Denbighshire may result from this contrast, there is only a weak and non-significant correlation between the incidence of multiple townships in parishes of a county and the level of non-return of register data.[11] After 1801 there appears to be a marked improvement in areal coverage, suggesting that the PRAs from this date are virtually complete.

More evidence of variation in areal coverage is evident when Rickman's data are considered at a sub-county level. This can be illustrated for Shropshire and suggests some evidence of inconsistency in the PRA data. Tables 2a and b compare the summary figures presented for the county with the aggregated totals of places making returns for each constituent hundred and borough. Apparent discrepancies in areal coverage appear to emerge from these tabulations, with consistently more parishes recorded as making returns for the hundreds than were listed in the county summary. If this discrepancy were serious, consistent disagreement would be expected in the actual number of marriages recorded in any given year. This is not the case. While discrepancies do exist between the annual totals, and these are inevitably more frequent from 1754-1800 than in the later period, they follow no consistent pattern that could be related to variations in areal coverage.

Table 2a A comparison of places making marriage returns for Shropshire 1801-31.

	1801	1811	1821	1831
Summary tabulation	212(236)	230	235	234
Aggregated total from individual hundreds	215	233	238	241
Percentage difference	+1.4(−8.8)	+1.3	+1.3	+2.9

Source: PRA Census Volumes 1801-31.
(−) Figure derived from the Supplement to the 1801 Abstract.

Table 2b Variation in the record of marriage frequency for Shropshire 1756-1830.....

	County Summary Tabulation	Aggregated total (Hundreds)	Years difference occurs	% difference
1756-60	4587	4728	5	3.1
1761-70	11026	10250	3	7.0
1771-80	10808	10803	1	0.05
1781-90	11038	11046	2	0.07
1791-1800	11704	11697	3	0.05
1801-1810	13536	13536	—	—
1811-1820	13613	13613	—	—
1821-1830	15763	15763	—	—

Source: PRA Census Volumes 1801-31.

On sixteen occasions in the period 1754-1800 the number of marriages recorded in the county summary differ from the aggregated totals for the individual hundreds. These range from a discrepancy of +800 marriages in 1764 (a probable transcription error) to −33 in 1755. Errors are continuous from 1755-61, when the summary consistently records annual frequencies lower than the totals for the hundreds. Thereafter to 1800, there is a marked improvement and, with the exception of 1764, the variation is both smaller and more erratic in occurrence.[12] In the following thirty years to 1830 only on two occasions are there discrepancies. In 1821, the summary list four additional marriages and in 1822 the same listing omits twenty marriages. Unfortunately it is impossible to ascertain why (or how) these differences came about. It is worthy of note that the period of continuous disagreement (1755-61) coincided with the period when Rickman records certain registers as defective.[13] It may well be that some adjustments, which were not included in the summary totals, were made to the hundred totals to offset the loss of records. It would be unwise however to conclude too much from such a coincidence.[14]

The impact of this annual variation is illustrated in Table 2b. The size of the difference in 1764 tends to overemphasise the degree of discrepancy in the decade 1761-70, but thereafter the percentage difference is so slight, that it is probably little more than a random element. This analysis of the Shropshire tabulations suggests that within Rickman's statistics there are inconsistencies at a sub-county level which should be recognised at the outset. It should be stressed however, that these figures provide only general indications, peculiar to one county and may, as a result, be atypical. It seems likely that comparable variation both in areal coverage and annual totals of marriage exists in other areas and may well be greater in more industrial settings where parochial registration was potentially more inaccurate. In aggregate, it appears that the limitations of the PRAs in terms of areal coverage are much less serious than might have been thought. The nineteenth century data is virtually complete, and the 1754-1800 coverage is reasonably accurate if used with care.

The problem of areal coverage increases significantly however at the scale of the individual hundred or borough. Here, it is clear that while at the aggregate level the totals of returning parishes appear consistent, at the local level, there is some variation in the allocation of parishes and chapelries to hundreds and boroughs over time. The effect of this can be to alter both the numbers and trend of vital events, for with smaller annual numbers of baptisms, marriages or burials the addition or omission of one or more parishes can greatly modify the record. This point can be illustrated from the Shropshire tabulations.

Of the sixteen hundreds and boroughs in the county only two, Ludlow and Chirbury, have identical numbers of returning parishes from 1801-1831. The remaining fourteen areas either gain or lose parishes in successive PRA returns. In some cases, this has little effect on either the actual number of events recorded or the trend, for the increase or decrease in returning places can result from a chapelry making an independent return at one date and then being included subsequently with the records of its associated mother parish. This occurs in the

hundred of Ford in 1811, when the chapelry of Ministerley is included in the parish return of Westbury, although it is returned separately on other occasions. This type of adjustment is fairly frequent but it should not be assumed to be the sole reason for variation in numbers of PRA returns at different census dates. Seven of the administrative areas in the county gained or lost one parish. Stottesdon first gained and then lost a parish but in the same period (1801-1831) the numbers of returning parishes in Shrewsbury rose from 7 to 15 and in Munslow from 20 to 27.

The gains and losses for the county as a whole do not in fact balance out because of variation in the total numbers of returning places at each census date and in certain cases parishes are only present in the returns for part of the total period.

The solution to the problem of variation in local areal cover is not straightforward. Two approaches can be attempted. The easy method is simply to restrict enquiry at the local scale to those hundreds and boroughs which do make consistent returns over time. Alternatively, where there is variation that may influence the resulting tabulations, the only solution is to attempt to standardise the record through time, using either local registers or an estimation procedure based on the expected annual average record of events for the parishes concerned. This is necessary because the PRAs give no detail of individual parish returns. In such circumstances, extreme care must be taken to ensure that at the local level the PRA record is documenting the same parishes and chapelries throughout the period. This problem however only arises when a comprehensive record based on successive PRAs is required.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed one of the more obvious limitations of the PRA data, that of areal coverage. It has shown that Rickman made progressive attempts to improve the completeness of his record, but in so doing created problems for anyone wishing to treat the PRAs as a continuous record dealing with identical areas. Within the PRA volumes certain inconsistencies, which pose minor problems to the user, are evident and these need to be examined further for the country as a whole. The major difficulty in the PRAs lies in ensuring that, at the local scale, the record of vital events refers consistently to the same areas. This scale distinction is important in the interpretation of trends, for it means that while analysis at the county level may be undertaken satisfactorily, acknowledging the above limitations, at the local level this is impossible without very careful examination and adjustment of the record.

The PRAs present other more intractable problems to the user and these also need to be resolved. It is not known how far this published record is an accurate or complete transcription of the actual parochial registers in use during the period. Neither is the extent of underregistration of events fully established. This is a problem common to both the national published figures and to the local statistics currently being collected from parish registers. Finally, the PRAs appear very deficient in records of dissenting congregations. This further limits their comprehensiveness. These issues await further research and in such circumstances the PRAs must be regarded as far from perfect and requiring considerable caution in their interpretation.

NOTES

1. The debate on demographic change and the use of Rickman's statistics figures largely in the literature of historical demography. A summary of the arguments can be found in M. W. Flinn, **British population growth 1700-1850**, Studies in Economic History: papermac, 1970. The problems of population estimation are discussed by N. F. R. Crafts, 'Eighteenth century local population studies in the context of aggregate estimates for England and Wales,' **LPS**, vol. 13, Autumn 1974, pp. 19-31. Reference to Rickman's data can be found in: D. V. Glass, 'Population movements 1700-1850, in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, **Population in History**, Arnold, 1965, pp. 221-46 and J. D. Chambers **Population, economy and society in pre-industrial England**, O.U.P., 1972, pp. 64-66 and pp. 113-114.

2. D. V. Glass, p. 221. Full details are given in M. Drake, 'The census 1801-1891 in E. A. Wrigley, **Nineteenth century Society: essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data**, C.U.P., 1973, pp. 7-43. Drake notes that two bodies of manuscript material exist.

   (i) In the PRO Home Office Papers (HO 71) give for every parish, the number of baptisms, burials and marriages for each year 1821-30: age at death (in years 1-100) for each year 1813-30: the annual average number of baptisms, burials and marriages not entered in the Church of England parish registers, with specific comments 1821-30: the number of burials entered in non Anglican and Anglican registers of burials in non Anglican grounds each year 1813-30: the number of illegitimate children differentiated by sex in 1830.

   (ii) In the BM are two large folio MSS volumes (BM Additional MSS 6896 and 6897) relating to the answers relative to the non-entry of baptisms, burials and marriages in the parish registers. Partially incomplete, volumes 1 deals with population enumeration, volume 2, with the PRA information, both relate to 1811.

3. Very few published studies exist dealing with this problem. The classic article on parochial registration is that by J. T. Krause, 'The changing adequacy of English Registration 1690-1837,' in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, pp. 379-93. Razzell has recently examined the underregistration of baptisms in parochial registers and applied these findings to national estimates. See P. E. Razzell, 'The evaluation of baptism as a form of birth registration through the cross matching of census and parish register data,' **Population Studies**, vol. 26, 1972, pp. 121-147.

4. D. V. Glass, p. 222.

5. D. V. Glass, pp. 222-3.

6. The Supplement is appended to the end of the 1801 PRA, it records a second attempt by Rickman to collect late entries and is prefaced by a few remarks on the completeness of the first survey. See **PRA Census 1801**, publ. 1802, p. 449 ff.

7. Some indication of regional variation in non-return and hence areal coverage is evident in the Supplement but it fits no clear pattern. For example, Cheshire made 14 additional returns and four remained outstanding, **Ibid** p. 451:

   Warwickshire made 9 additional returns and 9 remained outstanding, p. 453;
   Staffordshire made 6 additional returns and 7 remained outstanding, p. 453;
   Worcestershire made 5 additional returns and 10 remained outstanding, p. 453;
   Shropshire made no extra returns and 24 remained outstanding, p. 452.

8. **Ibid** p. 449.

9. **PRA Census 1811**, publ. 1812, p. xix.

10. The parish total for each county when the Supplement is included would be Staffordshire 178, Warwickshire 209, Cheshire 138, Herefordshire 288, Shropshire 236, Worcestershire 206, Denbigh 68, Montgomery 54, Radnor 59.

11. D. Sylvester, **The rural landscape of the Welsh borderland**, Macmillan, 1969, pp. 166-171.

12. Using Slyvester's data, a Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was computed to see whether there was a relationship between the number of townships per parish by county and the level of non-return of parish register details. The coefficient (0.33) showed no significant relationship at the 95 per cent. confidence level. It therefore appears that inaccuarcy of areal coverage does not simply arise from the incidence of multiple townships in parishes.

13. The totals in the Summary are less than those for the aggregated hundreds in 1765 (1), 1783 (15), 1800 (6) and greater than in 1770 (5), 1777 (5), 1785 (7), 1791 (8), 1792 (5).

14. D. V. Glass, p. 221, has noted that Rickman chose to estimate the number of marriages omitted from the registers when the record returned was incomplete. Unfortunately, no record was kept of where such estimates were included though the method used to calculate them, from the numbers in each of the preceding and succeeding years, is known. Conceivably, the pattern of variation described in the text may be related to the years in which such estimations were included, but this is unsubstantiated speculation tha must await further research.

II NATIONAL MARRIAGE DATA: A RE-AGGREGATION OF JOHN RICKMAN'S MARRIAGE RETURNS

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'Now most laws are, and all laws ought to be stronger than the strongest individual. Certainly the marriage law is. The only people who successfully evade it are those who actually avail themselves of its shelter by pretending to be married when they are not, and by bohemians who have no position to lose and no career to be closed.'[1]

The sanctity, continuity and legal control that has surrounded marriage registration since 1754, has provided the key underpinning to the assumption of accuracy in records of nuptiality. This assumption has been made both at the local level and in terms of the national published statistics collected by John Rickman in the parish register abstracts (PRAs). The extension of such a viewpoint to the national series, and the use of these data in population projections raises certain problems.[2] The reliability of the PRAs has been questioned frequently and though most of this criticism has been directed at the baptismal and burial record, it could be argued that the marriage record is potentially equally suspect. As a check on the accuracy of the marriage series recorded in the PRAs, this paper presents a comparison of Rickman's figures with the results of a re-aggregation of parish register data for certain sample administrative areas in Shropshire. While this approach is no substitute for detailed analyses of error in the registers themselves, it provides a valuable perspective on past and present studies that use Rickman's marriage data.

Marriage Legislation

The character and value of marriage registers is so closely tied up with legislation that a useful preliminary to the discussion is to consider the principal parliamentary Acts involved. Prior to 1753/4, the marriage law of England was considered to be so defective, irrational and demoralising, that 'it seemed indeed ingeniously calculated to promote both the misery and immorality of the people.'[3] Under canon law, enforced in ecclesiastical courts, a valid marriage could be celebrated by a minister in priest's orders at any time or place without registration or notice, and without the consent of parents or guardians of the parties concerned. There was

no difficulty in finding a priest willing to perform the ceremony and local 'Gretna Greens' were common, as the frequently cited 'marriage shop' parishes testify.[4] As a result, the earlier marriage registers are unreliable and may misrepresent the true local marriage pattern. The Earl of Hardwicke's Marriage Act (26, Geo. 11, Cap 33, 1753), was introduced to rectify these abuses and it was from its enactment that Rickman chose to begin collecting marriage data.

The Act took effect from March 25th 1754, it specified clearly the procedure of notice and registrations of marriage. Notice could take two forms. Banns could be published on three Sundays preceding the solemnisation of marriage in the parish or chapelry where one or both of the parties had 'usual place of residence,' or a licence could be granted by 'any archbishop . . bishop . . Ordinary . . or person having authority to grant such licences,' provided that the applicants, 'for the space of four weeks immediately before granting the licence,' had a permanent residence.[5] Minors required the full consent of either parents or guardians and proof had to be given, a week prior to marriage, of the identity and residence of both parties. These regulations applied throughout England and Wales, in parishes, chapelries and institutions, though not in Scotland[6]; failure to obey them was to be punished severely by 'transportation to some of His Majesty's plantations in America for the space of some fourteen years."[7]

Comparable attention to detail applied in the registration of marriages. The Act laid down that church and chapel wardens should provide in every parish and chapelry 'proper books of vellum, or good durable paper, in which all marriages and Banns of marriage respectively, there published or solemnised, shall be . . . entered, registered, printed or written."[8] Such events were to be witnessed by two or more individuals together with the minister and details recorded as to whether the marriage was solmnised by Banns or licence. It is for this reason that many local registers begin a separate volume in 1754 in accordance with the requirements laid down. Finally, attempts were made to publicise fully the new regulations with monthly readings of the Act in all parishes and chapelries in the autumn of 1753 and thereafter, on 'four several Sundays in each year."[9] These specifications did much to tighten the legislative framework surrounding marriage and applied equally to all Anglicans, Non-conformists and Catholic congregations, who were all required to marry by Church of England ceremony. This was a particular disability for Protestant dissenters, who before 1753 had been able to celebrate valid marriages in authorised chapels, but it is not known to what extent they subsequently accepted the requirements of the Act. The only exceptions (apart from the Royal Family) were Quakers and Jews who could solemnise marriage according to their individual faiths. It was not until 1836 that the grievances of the dissenting congregations were fully remedied, but the Act was a major step forward in ensuring a reliable record of Anglican marriages after 1754.

Two subsequent changes of legislation are worth noting. First, in 1781 there was a retrospective relaxation of Hardwicke's Marriage Act which allowed marriages solemnised in unauthorised chapels to be declared valid and the registers of such chapels to be removed to the parish

church. The impact of this relaxation was not great, but it is worthy of mention for completeness. Secondly, and of greater relevance to the reliability of Rickman's returns, Rose's Act (52, Geo 111, c 146) was introduced in 1812 and promulgated on 1st January 1813. Entitled 'for the better regulating and preserving of Parish and other Registers of Births, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials in England,' this Act was discussed at length by Rickman."[10] It insisted on the accurate recording and storing of registers with clear entries of each event bounded by a printed line. It further required that 'the Register books shall be kept in a dry, well painted iron chest . . . in the residence of the officiating minister, or in the Parish Church or Chapel: also that copies on parchment of all registers be sent annually to the Register of each Diocese."[11]

As a result of this requirement, three blank books were sent to each parish or chapelry throughout the country and local records show new registers commencing at this date.

These two acts did not alter the conditions governing the solemnising of marriages and it was not until 1836 that any major amendments were made. The introduction of civil registration on 1st July 1837 necessitated an amendment that provided for marriages to be solemnised by the Registrar of the District in an authorised office and this also allowed Protestant dissenters, Roman Catholics, Unitarians and agnostics to marry outside the ritual of the Church of England. This form of registration has subsequently been maintained to the present day with only minor changes affecting the period of notice given and the cost of the procedure.

The Re-aggregated Marriage Data

Of the several possible sources of error in the PRAs one that can be checked fairly easily is the accuracy of the arithmetic — how clearly did the clergy count and record the marriages listed in their register books and how accurately did Rickman's clerks total their returns? Ideally, a large number of such counts should be repeated in order to reveal the range of error, but the procedure is so time-consuming that the present analysis was confined to administrative areas in Shropshire. These were selected in such a way as to cover a variety of circumstances, and thus possibly to illustrate the range of problems likely to be encountered as well as differences in the degree of accuracy.

Data from the selected administrative areas have been re-aggregated from the surviving registers for the period 1754-1812. The terminal date was set by the availability of registers in either transcribed or MSS form in the Shrewsbury Borough Library and coincided with the introduction of new register books after Rose's Act. It is possible to compare the resulting totals with those listed by Rickman for this period, which is the one surrounded by the greatest doubt. Five areas were chosen: Ludlow, a small borough on the river Teme in south Shropshire; the hundreds of Ford, Condover and Munslow which extend over the hill country to the south of the river Severn and to the north of Ludlow; and the fragmented borough of Wenlock that included parishes from the southern scarplands of the county and from the coalfield area of north-east Shropshire (Figure 1).

Fig 1 — Location of the sample administrative areas.

All of these areas, except Ludlow, had a strong agrarian base to their economies and included within their boundaries regions of undulating topography. Condover, to the south of Shrewsbury, formed a discrete unit which included the valley lowlands of the Severn and reached to the edges of the rising scarpland of Wenlock Edge to the east and the uplands of the Strettons to the south-west. It was predominantly agricultural, but extensions of the Great Hanwood coalfield in the parishes of Stapleton, Leebotwood and Frodesley had led to the development of small-scale mining enterprises from 1764 onwards.[12] Adjoining it to the west and of comparable character, was Ford hundred, which covered the valley of the Rea and the northern extension of the Longmynd and Stiperstone hills. Here, mining developments were more extensive during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Coal was mined at Alberbury and lead and barytes extracted in Ministerley, Pontesbury and Westbury parishes. This industrial development reached its peak in the nineteenth century, but the sporadic enterprises which had grown up earlier had already produced a dispersed squatter population on the slopes of the uplands.[13] Nonetheless, much of the population remained in agricultural employment and the area never experienced wholesale industrialisation.

Table 1a The proportion employed in agriculture.

Place	1801 %Ag.	1811 %Ag.	1821 %Ag.	1831 %Ag.
Borough of Ludlow	4.2	1.3	14.3	—
Hundred of Ford	53.2	63.7	62.9	47.0
Hundred of Condover	37.2	66.8	80.1	64.4
Borough of Wenlock	10.9	23.7	29.7	17.8
Hundred of Munslow	47.8	74.1	76.7	67.2

Sources: 1801 Listing of personal occupation from the Population Enumeration (PE) of the 1801 Census. These are probably the most inaccurate figures.
1811-31 Listing of family occupations in the PE volumes of the Census.

Table 1b Population and percentage Change 1801-31.

Place	1801	%	1811	%	1821	%	1831
Borough of Ludlow	3897	6.5	4150	16.1	4820	9.0	5253
Hundred of Ford	5348	15.8	6193	3.1	6384	8.1	6898
Hundred of Condover	5569	0.3	5582	4.2	5818	1.6	5910
Borough of Wenlock	16304	3.1	16805	2.7	17265	1.0	17435
Hundred of Munslow	8517	10.0	9370	11.8	10478	−1.1	10367

Source: Population Enumeration Census Volumes 1801-31.

Munslow hundred to the south, extending from the slopes of the Longmynd in the west, across the scarp and vale topography of Ape, Hope and Corvedale, to the rising ground of the Clee Hills in the east, had comparable diversity. It was predominantly agricultural, though with some squatting settlements associated with mining on the common lands of the Clee Hills.[14] Geological and geographical features made this

hundred a far more diverse and less cohesive unit. It had no natural focus, but was drawn three ways, to the small market towns of Much Wenlock in the north, Church Stretton in the west and Ludlow in the south-east. The borough of Ludlow, the fourth area examined, grew up at a bridging point of the Teme and acted as a focus for the administration of the Welsh Marches and for the local region, providing a market for goods and a centre for services. It was and is the epitome of the small English market town. The fifth area, the borough of Wenlock, was unlike the others in that it comprised a discontinuous group of parishes of varied character extending across the Severn valley. It included Madeley, Little Wenlock and Broseley parishes which are recognised as part of the core area of the Coalbrookdale industrial region,[15] the small town of Much Wenlock and numerous agricultural parishes. The occupational and demographic diversity of the five selected areas is illustrated by Table 1a and 1b.

In addition to this diversity in character, there are also interesting differences in the number of parishes included in each area, and therefore in the number of separate returns both Rickman and the present-day researcher needed to use and total. In Table 2 the number of places making returns to the PRA at each census is listed, together with the number of surviving registers that are currently available. This shows that only one register series is involved in the case of Ludlow, six or seven in Ford, sixteen or seventeen in Condover and Wenlock and between seventeen and twenty-seven in Munslow. It seems reasonable to anticipate that the accuracy of Rickman's returns is related to these numbers. The number of registers also influence the likelihood of achieving a complete correspondence between the sources from which Rickman derived his total and those used in the present-day re-aggregation. So far as possible, identical sets of registers have been used, even where Rickman was obviously in error in including or excluding a particular parish or chapelry, as complete replication of his returns was the aim. This aim has not always been achieved. In the first place it is not always easy to know which places Rickman included: in some of his listings it is not clear whether chapelries were returned independently or along with the mother parish and this affects the numbers of returning places.[16]

Table 2 Numbers of parishes making returns to the PRA and the number of surviving marriage registers.

	1801		1811		1821		1831	
Place	PRA	Regs	PRA	Regs	PRA	Regs	PRA	Regs
Borough of Ludlow	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Hundred of Ford	7	7	6	6(7)	7	7	7	Registers
Hundred of Condover	17	17	16	16	16	16	16	not
Borough of Wenlock	17	17(16)	16	16	16	16	16	collected
Hundred of Munslow	20	18(17)	24	22(21)	25	23(22)	27	

Notes: Numbers in heavy type and in brackets indicate where problems arise with the surviving registers.

Parishes included in the PRA:—

Ludlow—The parish of St. Lawrence.

Wenlock—The parishes of Badger, Barrow (with Posenhall), Beckbury, Benthall, Broseley, Ditton Priors, Deuxhill, Eaton, Hughlee, Linley, Madeley, Monkhopton, Shipton, Stoke St. Milborough (with Heath), Little Wenlock, Much Wenlock and Willey. In 1811, 1821 Deuxhill was omitted in the PRA.

Ford—The parishes of Alberbury, Cardeston, Ford, Habberley, Pontesbury and Westbury with Ministerley. Variation arises in the PRA because sometimes Ministerley is specified separately, elsewhere it is omitted. The record suggests that it was always included under Westbury.

Condover—The parishes of Acton Burnell (with Ruckley and Langley), Berrington, Condover, Cound, Cressage, Frodesley, Harley, Hordley, Kenley, Leebotwood, Longnor, Pitchford, Church Preen, Church Pulverbatch, Smethcote, Stapleton, Woolstaston. Hordley was wrongly included in this hundred in 1801: it should have been listed in Pimhill hundred and was subsequently.

Munslow—The parishes of Abdon, Acton Scott, Bromfield, Cardington, Clee St. Margaret, Cold Weston, Culmington, Diddlebury, Easthope, Halford, Holdgate, Hope Bowdler, Hopton Cangeford, Munslow, Onibury, Stanton Lacy, Stanton Long, Stretton, Stokesay, Tugford. In 1811, Rickman also included Ashford Bowdler and Ashford Carbonell (Previously in Overs Hund.), Wistanstow (previously Purslow Hund) and Rushbury, for which he had received no register in 1801. He also omitted Halford which may have been recorded with Bromfield of which it was Chapelry. In 1821, Rickman added Richards Castle (previously in Overs Hund) and included all the 1811 parishes.

Source—PRA Census Volumes 1801-31. Records of the Shropshire Parish Register Society.

Secondly, a small number of registers have been lost since the information was extracted from them for Rickman, this applies to Eaton under Heywood in Wenlock from 1754-1784, Stanton Long (1756-1812) and Holdgate (1754-1812) in Munslow hundred. Other registers, like that of Ashford Carbonell between 1796-1813, have deteriorated and the MSS is now largely undecipherable. These problems were encountered especially in the case of Munslow hundred, for which complete replication is therefore impossible, and some estimation of omission is necessary to gain a better idea of the accuracy of Rickman's returns. But even where there is no doubt that the registers used by Rickman and those in the present survey were identical, it is not always certain what the policy of the clergy was when making their returns. Did they count only marriages solemnised in their parishes and therefore included in the marriage register? Or, did they include marriages that took place elsewhere but which were recorded in their Banns Book? The former seems most likely, so re-aggregation was on this basis. Neither is it known how accurate were their transcriptions of events and this leads to questioning the accuracy of the local registers themselves. The habit of keeping rough books has been referred to in other studies and if it occurred in Shropshire it may have led to inaccuracies and omissions in later copying up.[17] Nevertheless, the main source of error in Rickman's record of marriage register data is likely to have been the tallying by incumbents and his clerks, and it is of this that the current survey should provide a check.

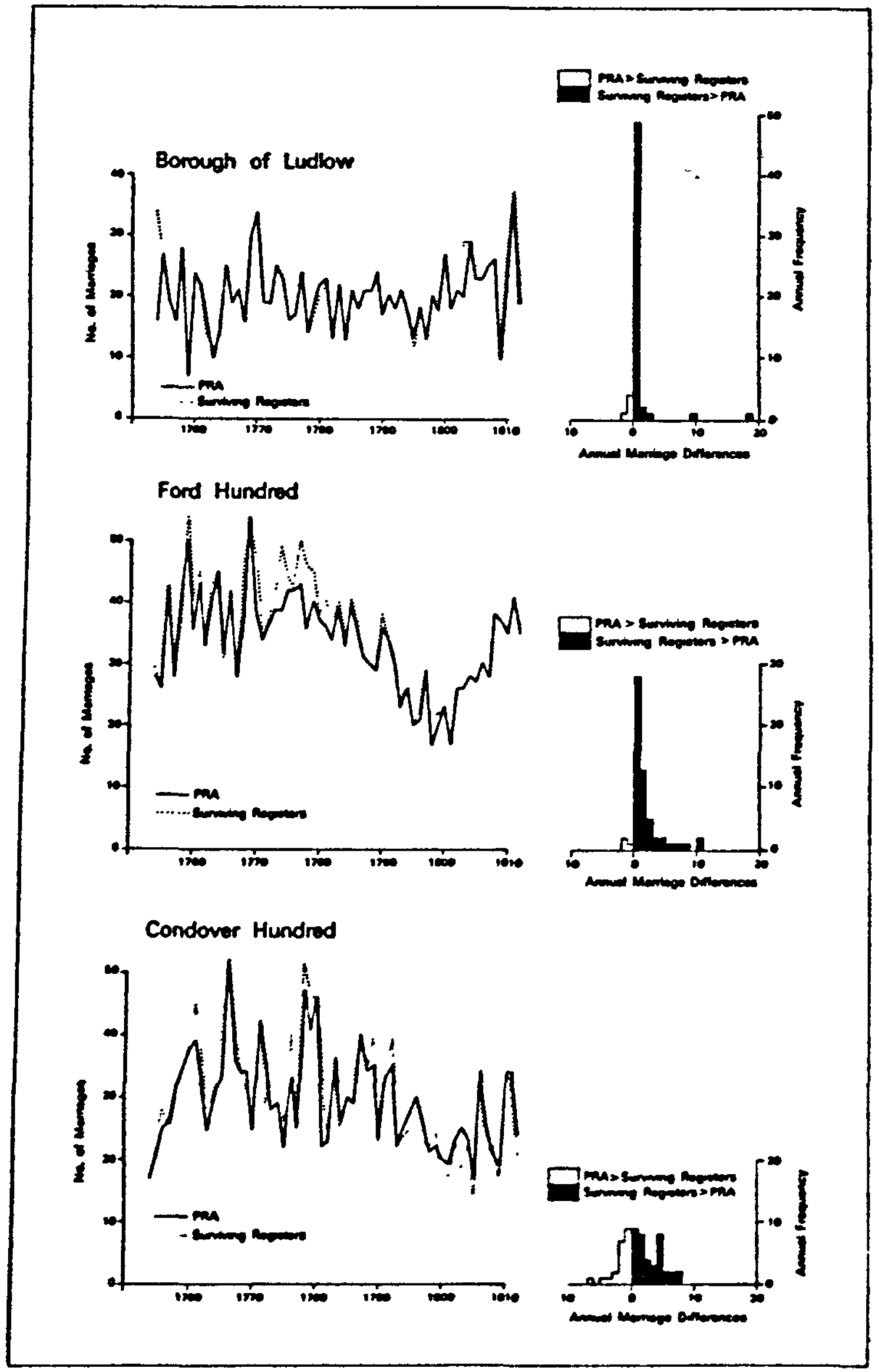

Fig 2a — Annual marriage frequencies and the distribution of annual differences in marriage totals between the PRA and the surviving registers in Ludlow, Ford and Condover from 1754-1812.

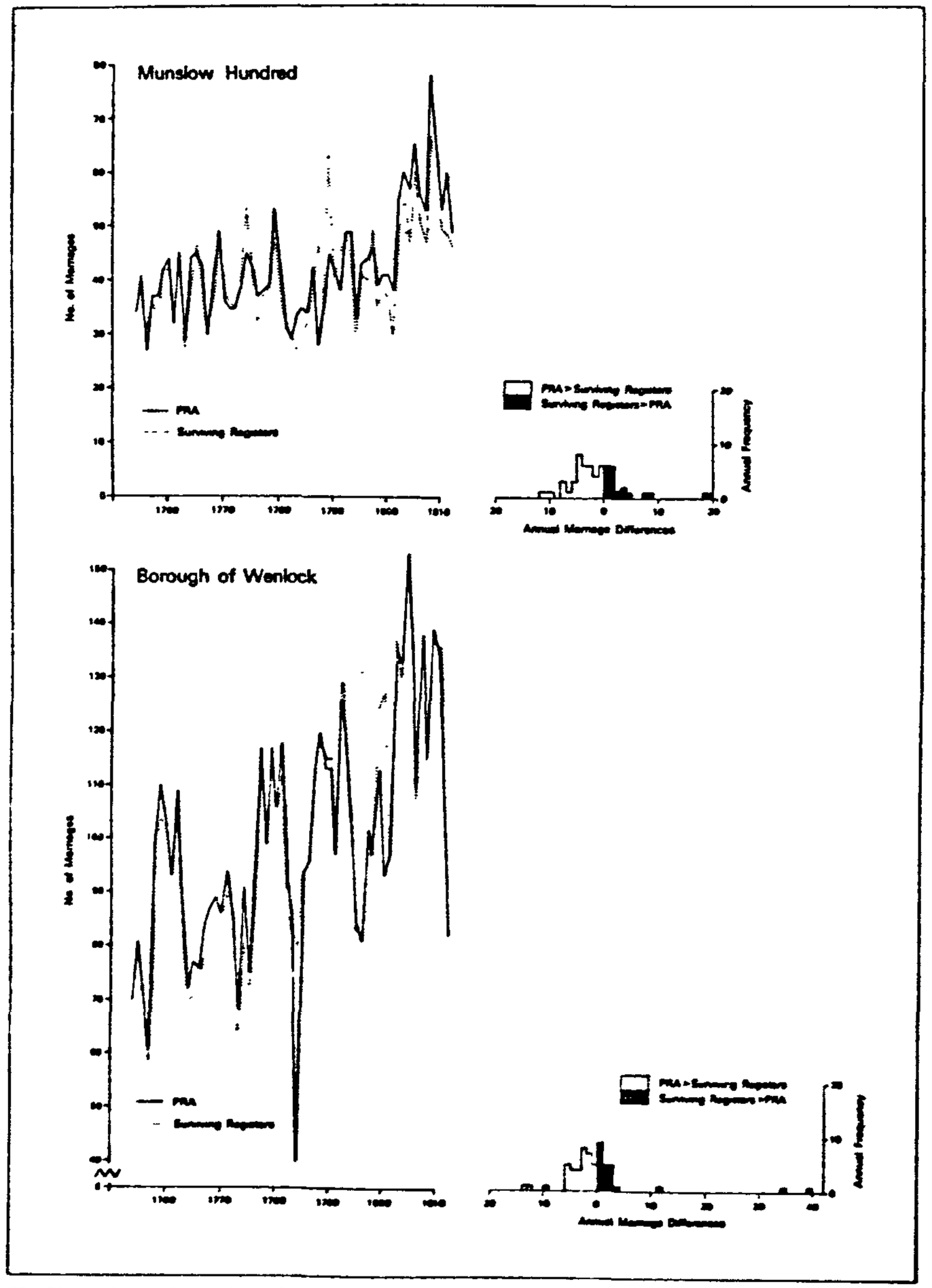

Fig 2b — Annual marriage frequencies and the distribution of annual differences in marriage totals between the PRA and the surviving registers in Wenlock and Munslow from 1754-1812.

Table 3a Differences in marriage totals between the PRA and the surviving registers from 1754-1812.

	Yrs. difference in totals occur	Yrs. records identical		Yrs. Regs. > PRA		Yrs. Regs. < PRA	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Borough of Ludlow	10	49	83.1	5	8.4	5	8.4
Hundred of Ford	31	28	47.4	28	47.4	3	5.1
Hundred of Condover	50	9	15.2	28	47.4	22	37.2
Borough of Wenlock	50	9	15.2	14	23.7	36	61.0
Hundred of Munslow	53	6	10.2	14	23.7	39	66.1

Table 3b Characteristics of the marriage series derived from the two sources 1754-1812.

	Average Annual difference 1754-1812	Modal difference	Standard deviation	Skewness
Borough of Ludlow	+0.42	0	2.66	Negative
Hundred of Ford	+1.32	0	2.80	Negative
Hundred of Condover	+0.81	−1/0	3.04	Negative
Borough of Wenlock	−0.73	0	8.05	Positive
Hundred of Munslow	−1.73	−5	5.62	Positive

Notes: Positive annual differences and negative skewness indicate that the registers are a fuller record than the PRA.

Negative annual differences and positive skewness indicate that the PRA records more marriages than the registers.

Sources: PRA Census Volumes 1801-21.
Transcribed and MSS registers in Shropshire Parish Register Collection.

The Marriage Returns

The annual marriage frequencies from the two sources are presented in Figures 2a and 2b. It is evident that there is rarely a precise match between the annual totals of marriage from each data set. Table 3a shows that only Ludlow and Ford show high levels of annual correspondence. In Wenlock and Munslow (where certain registers are no longer available for part or all of the period) the most common discrepancy is for more marriages to be recorded in the PRA returns than in the registers, whilst in Condover variations occur each way with almost equal frequency. Nevertheless, as Table 3b indicates, the differences in any year are generally very small. If the errors in the annual totals were purely random, then the observed differences between the two sets of annual totals would be normally distributed, in a statistical sense, around a mean of zero. In none of the five areas does the distribution of the annual differences in marriage totals show such complete normality, but the distortion is not great, as the mean and modal frequences indicate. With the exception of Munslow, all places have a modal difference of zero; Condover having a bi-modal distribution on zero and − 1 (the most frequent situation is one where there is either total correspondence, or where the registers record one less marriage than the PRAs). The record for Munslow shows consistent under-recording in the totals derived from the surviving registers (− 5 per annum) as might be expected given the incomplete record. The annual mean discrepancies are very

close to these modal values in three of the cases, with greater discrepancies in Ford and Munslow. The relationship between these mean values and their standard deviations indicates that the Ludlow, Ford and Condover marriage records vary considerably less between the two sources than those of Munslow and Wenlock. This is reflected in the range of annual variation (inset Figures 2a and 2b), from + 18 to − 2 for Ludlow, + 10 to − 2 for Ford, + 7 to − 7 for Condover compared with + 19 to − 12 for Munslow and + 40 to − 14 (marriages per year) for the borough of Wenlock. This analysis would suggest that the five administrative areas fall into two groups. In the first, comprising Ludlow, Ford and Condover, the incumbents were inclined to miss an occasional marriage when making their count for Rickman and the PRA slightly understates the actual number of recorded events. In the second group, including Wenlock and Munslow, the incompleteness of the surviving record, suggests a distinctly fuller record in the PRA tabulation but this may well be misleading. The characteristics of each area will now be considered in detail.

The borough of Ludlow, consisting of the one parish of St. Lawrence, provided the most easily tabulated records and shows the greatest agreement between the annual totals from the two sources (Table 4). Only on ten occasions do differences arise[18]: on five of these, the registers record more marriages than the PRAs with the largest discrepancy occurring in 1754 with a difference of 18 marriages. The error in 1754 could easily have arisen through the failure of the incumbent, when making the 1801 return to Rickman, to include marriages solemnised in the early months of 1754 and recorded in another general register. This was quite a common occurrence and recognised as such by Rickman.[19] A second large error of nine marriages occurs in 1803, for which no obvious explanation can be offered. The other three cases when the register totals are greater, involve differences of only one or two marriages a year; in two of the cases they are matched by comparable additions to the PRA record in adjacent years, which suggests that the odd marriage may have been transposed in the counting from one year to the next.

The hundred of Ford also shows a high level of correspondence between the two series. Such deviations as exist indicate that the PRAs tended to under-record the number of marriages. From 1754-1785 the registers record, for each decadal and quinquennial period, more marriages than are listed in the PRA. The proportion of marriages recorded in the registers but not in the PRA, rises from 3 per cent in 1756 to a peak of 11 per cent in 1776-80, thereafter falling rapidly to less than 1 per cent for the remainder of the period.[20] Why this high degree of under-recording occurs prior to 1785 is impossible to determine. This finding suggests however, that the PRA series varies in its accuracy both through time and from place to place.

The hundred of Condover is in many ways comparable to Ford. The surviving registers match those collected by Rickman and indicate that from 1754-93 he continuously under-recorded the number of solemnised events. During this period only on six occasions is the PRA series greater than the registers[21], though apart from 1772 the annual difference

Table 4 Marriage totals in the PRA and the local registers 1756-1810.

	Borough of Ludlow			Hundred of Ford			Hundred of Condover			Borough of Wenlock					Hundred of Munslow				
	PRA	Regs	%	PRA	Regs	%	PRA	Regs	%	PRA	Regs	%	Adj Reg	%	PRA	Regs	%	Adj Reg	%
1756-1760	94	94	—	196	203	−3.1	155	157	−1.3	444	431	+2.9	451	−1.5	192	188	+2.1	201	−4.6
1761-1770	206	205	+0.5	395	412	−4.3	340	357	−5.0	864	830	+3.4	870	−0.6	402	393	+2.2	418	−4.0
1771-1780	198	196	+1.0	388	427	−10.0	347	376	−8.3	946	904	−4.4	944	+0.4	415	410	+1.2	435	−4.8
1781-1790	193	193	—	343	355	−3.4	298	316	−6.0	986	1018	−3.2	1030	−4.1	364	381	−4.8	406	−11.5
1791-1800	185	184	+0.5	243	245	−0.8	261	262	−0.4	1007	1050	−4.3	no. adj. necessary		433	416	+3.9	431	+0.5
1801-1810	219	228	−4.1	292	292	—	240	219	+8.8	1286	1282	+0.3			589	521	+11.5	578	+1.8

Notes: Regs. = surviving registers: Adj. regs = surviving marriage registers plus estimates for missing registers.
Positive percentages indicate that the PRA records more marriages than the registers.
Negative percentages indicate that the PRA has fewer marriages than the registers.

Sources: PRA Census Vols. 1801-11. Transcribed and MSS registers in Shropshire Parish Register Collection.

is slight. The years when under-recording was highest are 1761-65 and 1776-80, the latter period corresponding with the pattern for Ford. After 1793, the pattern changes and from then until 1812 the register annual totals equal or exceed those of the PRA only on five occasions. This change of emphasis is surprising and suggests that Rickman may have been in receipt of additional, possibly institutional or dissenting (Quaker) returns that went undocumented, though no record can be found of such registers.

The borough of Wenlock and the hundred of Munslow present different problems of assessment because of the incompleteness of the surviving record. Consequently some estimation of the deficient records has been necessary and Table 4 includes both the available register totals and the estimated totals for each area. No record could be traced for one parish in the borough of Wenlock, Eaton under Heywood, from 1754-1784 and an estimate of the possible missing marriages, an average of four per year, has been included in the adjusted figures.[22] It is possible that other marriages solemnised in the chapelries of Linley and Posenhall may have been omitted, but it is impossible to estimate how many, and it may well be that they are already included with their mother churches. Similar problems were experienced with the large hundred of Munslow. No extant records were discovered for Holdgate and the registers of Stanton Long and Ashford Carbonell were deficient for part of the period. Comparable estimates were made for these parishes[23] and with their inclusion a clearer indication of the accuracy of the PRA tabulations emerges.

During the period 1754-84, the surviving registers for the borough of Wenlock record between two and fifteen fewer marriages per year than the PRA and only on three occasions is there a direct match between the two series. Once the estimate for Eaton under Heywood is included this pattern is altered (Table 4), and while not producing a complete match between the two sources it does produce greater correspondence. It indicates that the PRA may have under-recorded marriages from 1756-60, 1766-70 and from 1776-85, producing a peak of under-recordings from 1781-5 of 9 per cent. This makes the record for Wenlock match more nearly those of Ford and Condover and suggests some inaccuracy in the PRA tabulations. After 1784, when both series are drawn from identical sources, the pattern of under-recording in the PRA continues until the last decade, 1801-10, when slightly more marriages are recorded there than are present in the registers. The deficit in the PRA is emphasised by major differences cccurring between the two sources on three occasions: a difference of 40 marriages occurs in 1784, eleven marriages in 1799 and thirty-four marriages in 1800, apart from these aberrant years, annual differences are of the order of one or two marriages.

The record for the hundred of Munslow is in many ways comparable with that for Wenlock, except that there are clearer indications that Rickman's record is incomplete. Table 4 shows, that even though the record for the re-aggregated registers is known to be incomplete by three parishes, that the PRA differs little from it. Indeed on two occasions, from 1771-5 and 1786-90, it records fewer marriages than the surviving registers. The PRA figures are therefore suspect even without the

inclusion of the estimates for the missing registers. Once this is included, it is apparent that from 1756-95 (apart from one exceptional quinquennium, 1776-80, when the difference is slight) there is a continuous deficit in the PRA which reaches a peak of 20 per cent from 1786-90.

In the last fifteen years greater correspondence is achieved, with slightly higher figures in the PRA, but this may have arisen from inadequacies in the estimation procedure.

Conclusion

This article has examined only one of the several sources of possible error in John Rickman's marriage data listed in the PRAs; namely, in the calculation and transcription of the total numbers of marriages each year recorded in the marriage registers of each returning parish. The small number of sample areas means that conclusions can only be tentative, but they may suggest possible lines of enquiry for other researchers.

The general impression is that this source of error has little effect on the general trend of the marriage series over a long time period, but can produce quite significant differences in marriage totals for individual years, from one period to another and from one administrative unit to another.

Inaccuracy in totalling marriages generally increased from 1754 until the 1790s. During the 1750s and 60s, the degree of inaccuracy appears to have been of the order of approximately 5 per cent, but during the 1780s it reached more than 10 per cent (20 per cent in Munslow). From the 1790s onwards the correspondence between the PRA totals and the re-aggregated totals is greater. It is difficult to suggest why the accuracy in totalling for different years should have varied so consistently in all areas when the data for the eighteenth century were collected at one time by Rickman. One possibility is that during the first few years after Hardwicke's Act, the clergy took pains to produce clear records that caused the 1800 incumbent no problems in counting. Subsequently they became more careless as the numbers of marriages increased, registers became more disorderly and handwriting harder to read.[24] Hardwicke's Act had laid down that ' . . . the church wardens shall provide proper books of vellum or good durable paper, in which all marriages etc. shall be registered,' and books with standard format were eventually issued after Rose's Act, but in many of the smaller parishes, marriages were recorded in General registers as well as the marriage register during the eighteenth century. This factor may contribute to some of the apparent discrepancies. Occasionally, there is evidence in the registers that breaks in sequence occur, with marriages in previous months recorded some time later. Finally, there is much variation in the detail recorded about the participants from one year to the next. All these factors suggest room for error in transcribing parochial enumerations. This point is reinforced by Krause who noted that the 1780s were marked by a deterioration in parochial records.[25] By the 1790s, however, the clergyman was often dealing with his own handwriting and record, and hence his counting became more accurate. Only occasionally, in the registers consulted in this study, is there any evidence of the clergy recording

annual totals in the registers themselves and where these occur they are invariably correct. It may well be that the individual characteristics of the incumbents and their assiduity as Rickman's enumerators played the greatest role in producing the variation documented here.

Variations in accuracy among the Shropshire sample areas suggests that the number and size of the constituent parishes may have been a significant influence. Accuracy of counting was highest in Ludlow (one parish) and lowest in Munslow (over twenty parishes); on the other hand, Wenlock though having the same number of parishes as Condover had more accurate returns. Population size and occupational structure do not appear to have been significant influences in Shropshire.

The conclusion must be that whilst some of Rickman's marriage totals, particularly for years in the nineteenth century, correspond closely to totals obtained directly from marriage registers, it is difficult to be certain this is the case for any particular administrative area, or county total. While the general form of the marriage series does not change greatly as a result of these errors, annual or period, ie. quinquennial or decadal, totals will change. This source of error should be borne in mind when using PRA material. It suggests that at a local level, the marriage returns should be treated with a caution comparable to that for the baptismal and burial series and undermines considerably Rickman's protestations of accuracy. The PRA figures do not provide a short cut for the researcher requiring an accurate and reliable figure and they are no substitute for the local registers themselves, where the completeness of the record can be more pertinently established.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Dr J. A. Sheppard who gave advice on aspects of this paper and kindly commented on an initial draft.

Addendum

Since this work was completed a mircofilm copy of the Holdgate marriage register has been traced. This contains marriages from 1754-1796, and the actual frequency of marriages recorded there provide an interesting check on the estimation procedure used. In Table 4, 11.5 marriages per decade were included in the adjusted figures as an estimate for this parish, the actual frequency was 1756-60(8), 1761-70(14), 1771-80(12) and 1781-90(11), which suggests that the procedure used provides a reasonable approximation.

NOTES

1. G. B. S. Shaw, Getting married. In **Prefaces by Bernard Shaw**, Odhams Press, 1908, p.1.
2. Rickman claimed 'the solicitude of the female and her kindred, aided by the precision and security of the marriage act, leaves no occasion to suspect any deficiency in the marriage registry from negligence and the deficiency from other causes cannot be very important.' **PRA Census 1801**, publ. 1802, p. v. This view has been adopted by most workers and it has been advocated by Razzell who used the marriage return as the basis of his population estimate. See P. E. Razzell, 'Population changes in eighteenth century England: a reappraisal,' **Economic History Review**, 2nd series, vol. xvii, 1965, p.312.
3. Quotation attributed to Lecky cited in C. G. Robertson, (ed.) **Select statues, cases and documents to illustrate English constitutional history 1660-1832**, 6th Edition, 1935, pp. 223-224, Methuen, London.
4. 'Marriage shop' parishes are a fairly common phenomena prior to 1754. Examples of their occurrence can be found in J. D. Chambers, 'The course of population change' in D. V. Glass, and D. E. C. Eversley, **Population in History**, 1965, p.329.
   Chambers cited the example of Fledborough during the period 1730-54 when 490 couples were married in the parish of whom only 15 had permanent residence there. A comparable situation existed in the parish of Buildwas in Shropshire in the early nineteenth century, where between 1813-19, 300 marriages were celebrated, even though the resident population in 1811 was only 226. This arose partly because of the lack of provision in the adjoining industrial parishes of Little Wenlock and Madeley and partly because of the incumbent's enthusiasm for regulating the relationships of those engaged in the river trade along the Severn.
   Source: **The Registers of Buildwas**, publ. Shropshire Parish Register Society. Lichfield Diocese, vol. 14.
5. **Hardwicke's Marriage Act**, 26, Geo. 11, Cap 33, 1753, Paragraph 4.
6. C. G. Robertson, (ed.) 1935, p.223.
7. **Hardwicke's Marriage Act**, 1753, paragraph 8.
8. **Hardwicke's Marriage Act**, 1753, paragraph 11.
9. **Hardwicke's Marriage Act**, 1753, paragraph 19.
10. **PRA Census Volume 1821**, publ. 1822, p.22.
11. **PRA Census Vol. 1821**, publ. 1822, p.22.
12. A. T. Gaydon, (ed.) **The Victoria County History of Shropshire**, vol. VIII, O.U.P., 1973, pp.85, 107, 169.
13. **V.C.H. Shropshire**, Vol. VII, p.291. T. Rowley, **The Shropshire Landscape**, Hodder and Stoughton, 1972, pp. 207-21.
14. T. Rowley, 1972, pp. 211-16.
15. See B. Trinder, **The Industrial Revolution in Shropshire**, Phillimore and Co. Ltd., 1973. T. S. Ashton, **Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution**, 1951, A. Raistrick, **Dynasty of Ironfounders**, 1953.
16. The complex association between chapelries and mother parishes provided that baptisms, burials and marriages could be celebrated in the former, but records of these events were frequently recorded in the register of the mother parish. Rickman in 1801, listed many chapelries as making independent returns but no registers for these can now be traced. This applies to Linley a chapelry of Broseley (Wenlock), Posenhall a chapelry of Barrow (Wenlock), Heath (Munslow) a chapelry of Stoke St. Millborough (Wenlock), Ruthall and Ashfield (Munslow) a chapelry of Ditton Priors (Wenlock), Halford a chapelry of Bromfield (Munslow) and Ruckley and Langley, chapelries of Acton Burnell (Condover).
17. No direct evidence of rough books has been traced for Shropshire. Razzell (see below) following J. S. Burns (1862), suggests their occurrence may have been widespread, but examination of a sample of Shropshire Mss. registers provided only one case, in the parish of Bitterley in 1776, where the marriage return was unsigned by both participants and witnesses, which might perhaps indicate later copying up. See P. E. Razzell, 'The evaluation of baptisms as a form of birth registration through cross-matching of census and Parish Register data, **Population Studies**, vol. 26, 1972, p. 141.

Negligence in the transcription of vital events is however widely acknowledged and figures of errors as high as 10 per cent. have been suggested. This issue is referred to in D. V. Glass in **Population in History**, p. 223 and R. E. Jones, **Representativeness and reliability of data: registration loss in North Shropshire 1561-1812.** Paper presented to CAMPOP conference 1974 (mimeo). In such circumstances, while there is little evidence to support the use of rough books and copying up, the likelihood of negligence in the transcription of vital events remains a possible source of inaccuracy that cannot be wholly discounted.

18. The registers are less than the PRA in 1762(1), 1765(2), 1780(2), 1781(1), 1795(1), and greater than in 1754(18), 1763(1), 1782(1), 1803(9) and 1811(2).
19. Rickman notes that 'the Marriage Act did not take effect from the beginning of the year 1754 thereafter it may be presumed that the real numbers of marriages in that year cannot properly be inferred from that statement.' **PRA Census vol. 1801**, publ. 1802, p. 41.
20. Only on four occasions after 1785 does the PRA differ from the registers in 1785(2), 1790(2), 1793(1), 1796(1).
21. 1757(1), 1758(1), 1766(1), 1769(2), 1772(5) and 1784(1).
22. The method used to compute the missing marriages for Eaton under Heywood was to estimate on the basis of the marriage register record that was available from 1785-1837. This showed some 217 marriages in the 50 year period, the annual average was 4.34, with two modes of four and six marriages for the year. The average figure was used to estimate the level of adjustment (Table 4). Obviously, if the higher of the modal values had been used then Rickman's tabulations would have appeared consistently deficient.
23. The procedure used to estimate the missing values for the parishes in Munslow hundred was identical to that for Eaton under Heywood. The average annual marriage frequency for Ashford Carbonell (from registers covering the periods 1754-1795 and 1814-35) was 2.68 with a mode of 2. For Stanton Long (1813-1837) the average annual frequency was 1.32 with a mode of one marriage per year. No record was available for Holdgate popl. **1801**, 197: **1811**, 197) and the annual average for a parish of comparable size in the same area was used, namely Acton Scott (1754-1812: popl. **1801** 164: **1811**, 184), this produced an average of 1.15 with a mode of one marriage per year These estimates led to the addition of 25 marriage per decade prior to 1800, when Holdgate and Stanton Long were omitted and 57 marriages, from 1801-10 when Ashford Carbonell was also missing.
24. This is borne out by some of the MSS registers examined in this enquiry; most dramatically in the Ashford Carbonell record, which is poorly written during the latter half of the eighteenth century and eventually becomes illegible from 1796-1813.
25. J. T. Krause, 'The changing adequacy of English registration,' in D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, **Population in History**, p. 393.

III MARRIAGE SEASONALITY 1761-1810: AN ASSESSMENT OF PATTERNS IN SEVENTEEN SHROPSHIRE PARISHES

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In an earlier article Leslie Bradley has argued that marriage seasonality appears to reflect three factors — fundamental, local and accidental.[1] The first of these factors includes elements such as ecclesiastical discouragement of marriage in certain months or economic constraints and produces consistent regional or national patterns, while 'local' and 'accidental' factors introduce variations. Most of the published studies have emphasised the more 'fundamental' seasonal features arising from ecclesiastical and economic control, but obviously other factors, such as the size and social cohesiveness of the community concerned, or the level of extra parochial marriage, may modify the seasonal pattern. However, before these local factors can be assessed, more detailed studies of the extent to which periods of ecclesiastical prohibition were observed in all parts of the country are necessary.

The present study uses data drawn from seventeen published registers of parishes of different sizes in central Shropshire over the period 1761-1810.[2] The parishes lie in a discontinuous north-south belt, ranging from the market town of Wem on the north Shropshire plain, with a population of 3,121 in 1811 to a group of small parishes, all with populations below 300 in 1811, situated on the southern bank of the Severn floodplain south of Shrewsbury. To avoid the problem of small samples, the seventeen parishes have been divided into five groups, based on their population size in the 1811 census, as shown in Table 1. For each group of parishes the information on marriage seasonality is presented in the form of a standard index, in which the figure 100 represents the number of events that would occur in a month if the annual total of marriages occurred evenly taking account of the different number of days in each month.[3]

Table 1. Parishes grouped by size of population in 1811.

Size-group	Parish	1811 Population	Size-group	Parish	1811 Population
2000+	Wem	3121	300-599	Berrington	575
				Stokesay	489
1000-1999	Condover	1289		Hopesay	484
	Bitterley	1083		Onibury	415
	Stanton Lacy	1026		Smethcote	359
600-999	Stretton	944	200-299	Acton Burnell	290
	Wistanstow	659		Pitchford	255
	Bromfield	610		Stapleton	234
				Longnor	231
				Leebotwood	208

Source: Population Enumeration Census Volume 1811.

The first panel of Table 2 presents a seasonal marriage index for each parish size group over the whole period, while the second panel combines the parishes and presents a seasonal index for individual decades. The immediate impression gained from the aggregate figures is the similarity in patterns of marriage seasonality between these Shropshire examples and those presented in **LPS** for other areas. This reinforces the idea of fundamental ecclesiastical constraints having a national impact.

The church discouraged marriage during three periods of the year. The first of these from Septuagesima to Low Sunday, covering three weeks of February, the whole of March and two weeks in April, is clearly evident in these data. March is consistently the lowest month in all parish size-groups and for the bulk of the period; only ceasing to be so from 1801-10 when August replaces it. There is some indication that marriages were also infrequent in April and February in certain decades, but the levels of marriage in February vary in parishes of different size. It appears that the main impact of ecclesiastical prohibtion is concentrated in March, but its impact is noticeably weaker in the case of the large market town of Wem. These data also suggest that the observance of this prohibition weakened during the early nineteenth century, with an increase in the proportions of marriages solemnised in March, but earlier the discouraged period was widely recognised. This corresponds well with Bradley's findings for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire parishes[4] and with Massey's findings in Burton Joyce[5]. Similar findings also occur in the data for Oswaldkirk (North Riding, Yorkshire)[6] and in the Ardèche[7]. It therefore seems fair to conclude that in general throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century Lent was still avoided for weddings and that only in the early years of the nineteenth century did the situation change, but the strength of observance depended very much on the size of parish, which in turn may well reflect the control of social convention and more specifically that of the incumbent.

These data also raise questions concerning the relative performances of February and April. If March marriages were discouraged, is the February peak simply a response to this constraint, an attempt to beat the ban which Lent imposed? But if this were so, why is April which comes after the end of Lent such a quiet month?

Table 2. Marriage seasonality in seventeen Shropshire parishes 1761-1810 by size of parish.

	Total No. of marriages	Index values/month J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
c.3000 (Wem)	891	143	139	73	96	110	88	81	68	76	76	69	183
1000-1999	992	80	160	52	96	217	136	65	94	72	92	95	95
600-999	599	70	167	45	85	268	138	84	64	52	106	89	86
300-599	590	73	78	35	93	304	113	101	80	53	73	97	97
200-299	283	75	114	53	98	246	120	100	62	64	62	112	88
All parishes	3355	93	167	53	94	215	118	82	77	66	84	89	116

By decade

	Total No. of marriages	Index values/month J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
1761-1770	660	98	112	54	87	242	98	81	77	61	89	85	116
1771-1780	734	89	121	35	94	262	117	76	75	58	76	89	107
1781-1790	639	94	87	40	97	194	137	94	60	66	107	91	131
1791-1800	659	95	88	48	101	186	120	70	98	76	82	87	121
1801-1810	663	89	122	82	95	194	120	71	73	69	89	92	103

(100 = annual total/365 x number of days in a month)

The second period when marriages were discouraged was from Rogation to Trinity, covering two weeks in May; here the published evidence is more equivocal, but the results are plain. For the total sample May is easily the most popular month, rising in importance until 1780 and falling slightly thereafter. In the villages May dominates the marriage pattern, with index values double and treble those that might be expected with an even monthly distribution. In the market town of Wem however, while May always features as a popular month, it is December which dominates the registers. Thus the second period appears to have less impact than the first, confirming Bradley's findings[4]; refuting the notion that 'marriages in May were unlucky'[9], and suggesting a possible regional contrast between Shropshire and Yorkshire, as May never features as a peak month in the Oswaldkirk data[10]. Indeed this may be an example of local, economic or customary factors shaping patterns of marriage seasonality. For example, May festivities and fairs seem to have been common in Shropshire[11]. Two contemporary **Directories** list May Day fairs in a majority of market centres in the county, but whether these together with the spring time season encouraged marriage is an open question[12].

The final prohibited period, from Advent to Hilary, covering December and two weeks in January does not appear to have been observed at all. In the villages the index numbers for December and January are at about the same level as in November and several other months in the year, while Wem records both December and January as peak months over the whole period. Bradley has noted that from 1720-70 any discouragement on marriage in these months appears to have been relaxed, so that by the end of the eighteenth century December was frequently the most popular month[13]. Certainly there is evidence of December peaks in other areas, but their incidence is infrequent.

A number of other features can be noted from these aggregate tables. It has been suggested that a summer trough in marriage is a fairly general phenomenon, with August recording low monthly totals; this has been connected with the labour demands of harvest time, but Bradley has noted that the same pattern recurs in less rural parishes, in part refuting such an occupational explanation[14]. In these data, while levels of marriage in July, August and September are low, there is considerable variation through time and between groups. Generally September is the lowest of these three months followed by August and then July: indeed July seems to be one of the more popular months in the smaller parishes. Overall, marriages appear to be concentrated in May, June and July, with the summer period of above - average numbers increasing in length as parish size decreases. In many other studies November stands out as a popular month, possibly reflecting an easing of the farming year and a time of surplus, but here a November peak only occurs amongst the smallest parishes[15].

The broad pattern that stands out in these aggregate data confirms the importance of Lent as a control on monthly seasonality, but indicates that more diverse factors, probably highly local in nature, influence the degree of observance of the other two discouraged periods. These data also suggest that certain of the contrasts that exist may well be a function of the size of the parishes concerned, reflecting the degree of economic diversity. In particular the monthly pattern of Wem, the small market town differs from that of the rural parishes, suggesting that size and degree of urbanisation may influence seasonal characteristics, producing contrasts between town and countryside. Moreover in the smaller parishes the incumbent or chief landowner played a dominant role. This was particularly true in 'estate parishes' where the influx of new employees was closely controlled from year to year[16]. In such circumstances, marriage may well have been associated with certain constraints and customary months of solemnisation. Similarly, in such parishes a devout incumbent might have been particularly effective in maintaining the ecclesiastical periods of discouragement free of marriages, particularly in December when Christmas services and festivities may well have taken precedence.

Finally, there are a number of ways in which marriage seasonality could be investigated further with profit. Firstly, marriages could be divided into those between local people and those where spouses come from outside the parish. If there are differences in the seasonality of the marriages of the two groups then both mobility and employment may be influential in shaping the aggregate seasonal pattern. Secondly, greater attention needs to be given to the precise role of economy in shaping seasonal trends. Chambers has indicated the close relationship between nuptiality and the economy over longer time periods[17], and there is no reason why comparable associations should not hold good on an annual and seasonal basis, as Ogden found among the silk-growers of the Ardèche[18]. Annual and seasonal hiring, the contractual terms of service, and the regional and temporal emphasis on 'living in' and 'cottage labour' may be important[19].

Where possible it would also be useful to identify 'local' customs and the role they play. It has been suggested that the Shropshire May fairs may have contributed to the higher frequencies of that month, but other local

customs may equally sway the pattern and determine the tempo of this aspect of vital events.

These issues and their interconnection form one route to the explanation of marriage seasonality, and by so doing, illustrate the internal connectivity of 'the world we have lost' and the need that exists for further research on this topic.

NOTES

1. L. Bradley, 'An enquiry into seasonality in baptisms, marriages and burials', Part one, **LPS** No. 4, 1970, pp. 21-40.
2. The seventeen registers used have all been published by the Shropshire Parish Register Society. The volumes consulted were: Wem, (Lichfield [L], vols 9 &10, 1583-1812); Condover (L, vol. 6, 1570-1812); Bitterley, (Hereford [H], vol. 4, 1658-1812); Stanton Lacy, (H, vol. 4, 1561-1812); Stretton, H, vol. 8, 1661-1812; Stretton, H, vol. 8, 1661-1812; Wistanstow, (H, vol. 17, 1 1661-1812); Bromfield, (H, vol. 5, 1559-1812); Berrington, (L, vol. 14, 1559-1812); Stokesay, (H, vol. 17, 1559-1812); Hopesay, (H, vol. 18, 1660-1812); Onibury, (H, vol. 18, 1577-1812); Smethcote, (L, vol. 1, 1609-1812); Acton Burnell, (L, vol. 19, 1568-1812); Pitchford, (L, vol. 1, 1558-1812); Stapleton, (L, vol. 1, 1658-1812); Longnor, (L, vol. 5, 1586-1812); Leebotwood, (L, vol. 5, 1547-1812).
3. A detailed discussion of the calculation of the marriage index is presented in: M. Fleuri and L. Henry, **Nouveau manuel de dépouillement et d'evploitation de l'état civil ancien, Paris, 1965, pp. 103-5.**
4. L. Bradley, **LPS, No. 4, 1970, p.34.**
5. M. Massey, 'Seasonality, some further thoughts,' **LPS**, No. 8, 1972, pp. 48-54.
6. P. Rowley, 'Seasonality in Oswaldkirk, North Riding, Yorkshire,' **LPS**, No. 11, 1973, pp. 44-47.
7. P. E. Ogden, 'Patterns of marriage seasonality in rural France,' **LPS**, No. 10, 1973, pp. 53-64.
8. L. Bradley, 'Marriage seasonality — May marriages,' **LPS**, No. 3, 1969, p.54.
9. A. W. Smith, 'Marriage seasonality,' **LPS**, No. 2, 1969, p.67.
10. P. Rowley, **LPS**, No. 11, 1973, p.45.
11. B. Trinder, **The Industrial Revolution in Shropshire**, 1973, p.364.
12. Barfoot and Wilkes, **Universal British Directory**, 1797, and Tibnam and Co. **The Salop Directory**, 1828.
13. L. Bradley, **LPS, No. 4, 1970, p.37.**
14. L. Bradley, **LPS, No. 4, 1970, p.39.**
15. L. Bradley, **LPS**, 4, 1970, p.39. H. Palli, 'Seasonality of marriage in Estonia', **LPS**, No. 14, 1975, pp. 50-52.
16. D. Mills, 'English villages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: a sociological approach,' Part one, **Amateur Historian, vol. 6, No. 8, 1965, pp. 271-8.**
17. J. D. Chambers, **Population, economy and society in pre-industrial England**, 1972, Chapter 6, pp. 128-151.
18. P. E. Ogden, **LPS, No. 10, 1973, p.63.**
19. R. E. Prothero, **English farming past and present**, 1912, pp. 53-4, 86-9, specifies some of the characteristics of hiring fairs and the conditions of service that governed annual hirings. An introduction to the role of fairs and markets is given in the **Report on Markets and Fairs in England and Wales, vol. 1, HMSO 1927, No. 13.**